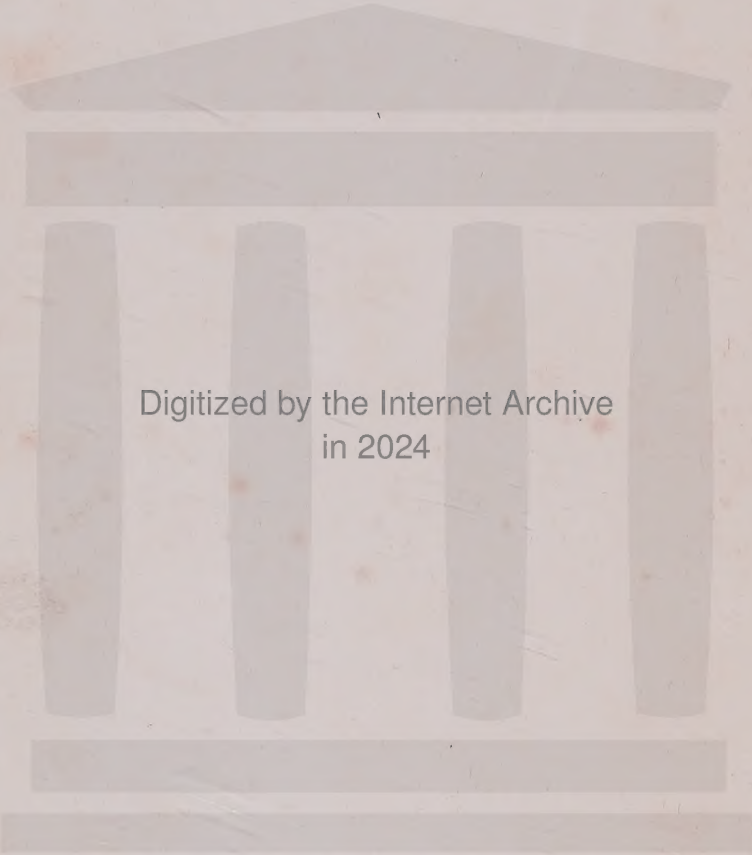
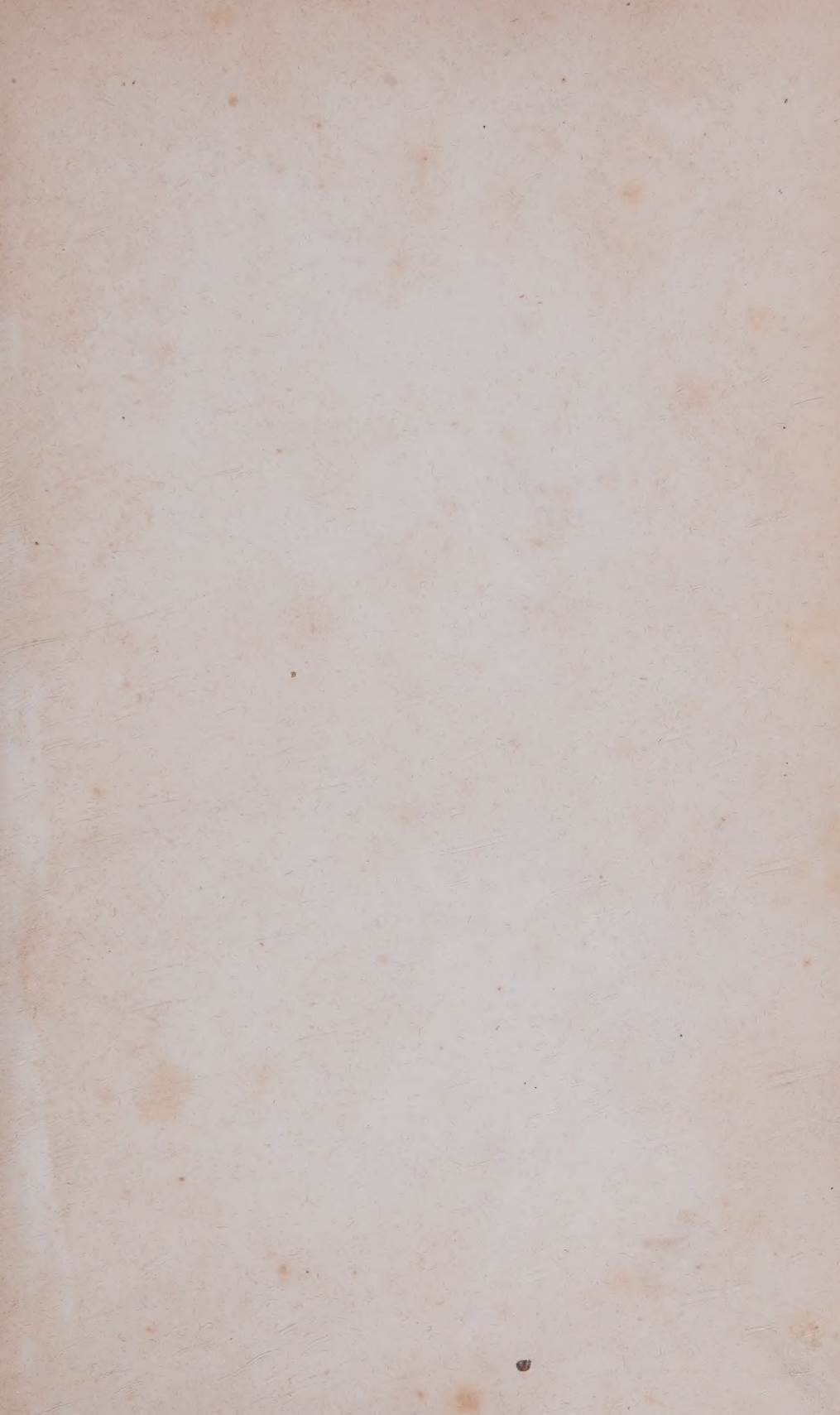


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LANDING OF COLUMBUS.

PICTORIAL HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES
OF
AMERICA,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE CLOSE OF
PRESIDENT TAYLOR'S ADMINISTRATION.

COMPRISING

THE EARLY DISCOVERIES OF THE SPANIARDS, FRENCH, AND ENGLISH NAVIGATORS; THE SETTLEMENT OF THE SEVERAL COLONIES; THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS; THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR; THE WAR OF 1812; AND THE MEXICAN WAR;

ALSO,

THE DISCOVERIES OF THE GOLD REGIONS AND SETTLEMENT OF CALIFORNIA.

INTERSPERSED WITH ANECDOTES AND SKETCHES OF DISTINGUISHED LEADING MEN.

BY HUGH MURRAY, ESQ.,

AUTHOR OF THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF GEOGRAPHY.

WITH ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS,
BY HENRY C. WATSON.

ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS,

BY W. CROOME.

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P R E F A C E .

BY THE EDITOR.

MR. MURRAY'S History of the United States has long been respected in this country for its candour and impartiality, as well as for its accuracy in narrative. It is drawn chiefly from American authorities and official state papers, and written with remarkable clearness and force of expression.

In preparing this edition for the press, the editor has somewhat condensed a portion of the colonial history, in order to bring in the narrative of recent events, (written by himself, to complete the work to the present time,) without inordinately increasing the bulk of the volume. Some corrections and additions have also been made in that portion of

the work which relates to the second war with Great Britain.

These changes, it is believed, will materially increase the interest and value of the work for American readers.

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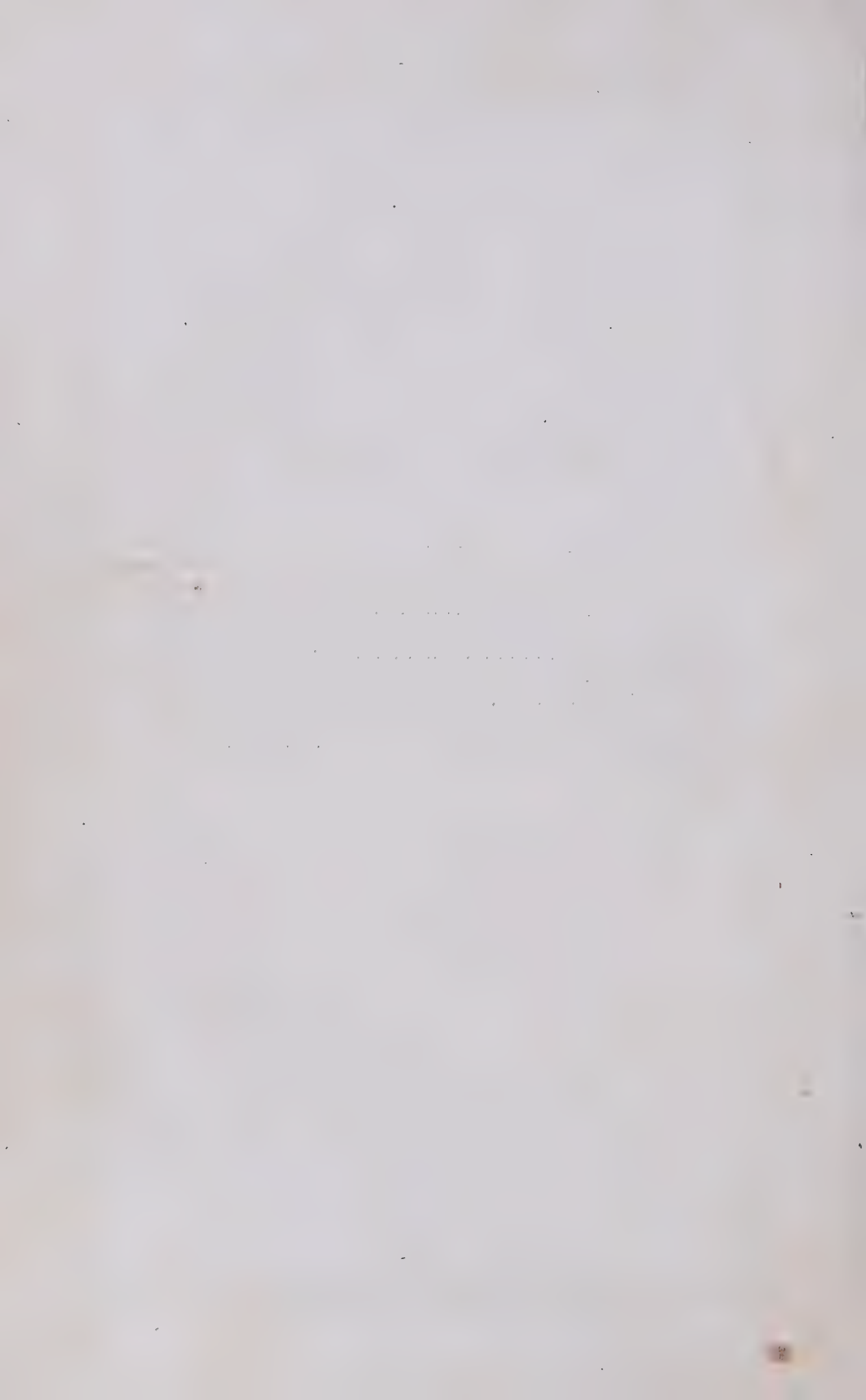
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HISTORY

OF

THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY OF NORTH AMERICA, AND ATTEMPTS OF THE SPANIARDS TO COLONIZE THE COUNTRY.

THE coast of the United States, notwithstanding its proximity to Europe, was not the earliest discovered part of the New World. The course of Columbus led him to Guanahani, one of the eastern Bahamas, thence to Hispaniola, and in his subsequent researches, still farther towards the south and west. In 1497, John Cabot, from Bristol, arrived at Newfoundland, or more probably Labrador; but no intimation is afforded of his having sailed to any distance along the coast. In 1498, however, his son Sebastian, with two vessels, made a most extensive survey, beginning in the latitude of 56° , and terminating, it is said, in that of the Straits of Gibraltar, or about 36° . This must have brought him to the mouth of the Chesapeake, or even of Albemarle Sound; and it is impossible not to regret that no details should be extant of this memorable voyage. He soon after sought the service of the Spanish monarch, and was created a member of the council of the Indies. In 1517, he is again found

employed, though only as second, to Sir Thomas Pert, in an expedition from England, by which the exploration of Hudson's Bay was certainly effected, though not actively followed up. Returning to Spain, he was promoted to the rank of chief pilot of that kingdom, and, sailing under its flag, made the important discovery of the Rio de la Plata. Lastly, at an advanced age, being again in England, he was nominated grand pilot, and governor of the company of Merchant Adventurers, in which capacity he drew up instructions for Sir Hugh Willoughby's north-eastern expedition. He appears to have ranked second to Columbus among the navigators of that age, superior in science, and rivalling him in enterprise, gallantry, and honorable feeling.

Spain carried off the first and great prizes of transatlantic discovery. The wise or fortunate resolution of Isabella to patronize Columbus, conveyed to her a dominion over empires of almost boundless extent, and rich in those treasures which mankind most eagerly covet. That navigator, when he landed at Guanahani, was not very distant from the coast of Florida; but the hope of a passage to the East Indies, and other circumstances, induced him to steer in a south and south-western direction. All the great islands of the archipelago had been discovered, the coast of Terra Firma examined, and Nunez de Balboa had obtained his celebrated prospect of the Pacific, before the Spaniards even suspected the existence of that vast region which now forms the United States. It was brought into view by accidental and somewhat singular incidents.

Juan Ponce de Leon, after distinguishing himself in the wars of Granada, had embarked with Columbus in

his second voyage. He then added greatly to his reputation, and being intrusted by Ovando, the governor, with a command in the eastern part of Hispaniola, had an opportunity of observing the rich aspect of the adjacent shores of Porto Rico. Having proposed to his superior officer to conquer it, he was allowed a body of troops to try his fortune. In this he completely succeeded, and obtained gold, not in the expected abundance, but to a considerable amount; being accused, however of those cruelties which were much too familiar to the Spanish adventurers. His claims as governor being also considered as conflicting with those of Columbus, he withdrew, and obtained, in compensation, Bimini, one of the Bahamas which lay nearest to the continent.

Here an object, very different from conquest or plunder, engrossed the whole soul of the warlike veteran. In an age of comparative ignorance, and after witnessing so many wonders, his mind was prepared to credit almost any extravagance. Ponce de Leon had somehow imbibed the full belief, that on one of those insular shores there existed a fountain endued with such miraculous virtue, that any man, however worn out with age, who should have once dipped himself in its waters, would rise restored to the full bloom and vigor of youth. In this delusive search, he beat about restlessly from shore to shore, landing at every point, and plunging into every stream, however shallow or muddy, in the vain hope of springing up in this blissful state of renovation. On the contrary, his eager and incessant activity under a burning sun, brought upon him, it is said, all the infirmities of a premature old age; and, according to Oviedo, instead of a second youth, he arrived at a second childhood,

never after displaying his former energy of thought or action.

Extraordinary exertions, even when misapplied, commonly lead to something. While the Spaniard was sailing in every direction after his miraculous fountain, he came unexpectedly, on the 27th of March 1512, in sight of an extensive country, hitherto unknown. Magnificent forests, intermingled with flowering shrubs, exhibited so gay an aspect, that he named it Florida. He landed on the 8th of April, near the present site of St. Augustine; and, notwithstanding the dangers of navigation amid the violent currents produced by the gulf-stream running among the islands, he spent a considerable time in tracing its outline, and finally rounded the southern point. Thus, though still supposing it to be an island, he ascertained that it must be both large and important.

This great discovery seems to have weaned the mind of the Spanish chief from his engrossing chimera. He repaired to Porto Rico, and thence to Spain, laid before the king the particulars of the new country, and obtained permission to conquer and rule it under the pompous title of adelantado. A considerable time, however, was consumed in preparations; and while thus busied, he was obliged to engage in suppressing an insurrection among the Caribs. This contest was attended with reverses, by which he lost much of his reputation; and nine years elapsed before he could conduct two ships to his promised dominion. While planning a site for a colony, he was surprised by a large body of Indians; his men were completely routed, and himself severely wounded by an arrow. As these people were never able afterwards to cope in the field with Spanish troops,

this disaster may lead us to suspect that he really had lost his former military talent. Having regained the ship, he sailed to Cuba, where he soon after died of his wound.

The fate of Ponce de Leon for a considerable time discouraged all such adventurers. The coast was, however, visited by individual merchants; and Diego Miruelo is said to have made repeated voyages from Cuba, obtaining, among other commodities, some gold, which confirmed the delusive ideas entertained of its wealth. Fernandez, Grijalva, and Garay made surveys of some extent along the southern coast, but without reaching Florida, or connecting their discoveries with that of De Leon. The idea of island which the Spaniards had at first attached to the country, gave way before additional intelligence and the assurances of the natives; and it became evident that a vast expanse of land lay in this direction. They, accordingly, from thenceforth claimed as Florida the whole continent of North America, including even Quebec. But this pretension, being encountered by the rivalry of more active European nations, could not be enforced; and, at no distant period, another sway and other names were established over nearly the whole of this vast range of territory.

The knowledge, however, that such countries existed was turned to a cruel account by Spanish avidity. Slaves to cultivate the rich soil of the Antilles became an early object of demand, and could be procured from these savage coasts: hence a company was formed, and Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon was sent with two ships on this nefarious mission. He reached South Carolina, entered the river Combahee, which he named Jordan, and ex-

perienced the usual facility of a stranger, in opening a friendly intercourse with the natives. After the usual interchange of visits and friendship, they were easily lured in crowds on board the vessel; when, in the height of their confidence, the treacherous Spaniard set sail, and stood for the West Indies. Yet the crime was nearly abortive;—one of the ships sunk, and sickness thinned greatly the number of captives in the other.

Another expedition, with a more legitimate design, was undertaken by Stephen Gomez, a Portuguese, who had been a companion of the great Magellan. Between the countries hitherto explored and Baccalaos, or the Codfish Island, as Newfoundland was then termed, there extended a vast space, within which there might still exist the eagerly desired passage to Hindostan. Gomez, employed by the council of the Indies, appears by the meager narratives extant to have sailed northward to the latitudes of 40° and 41° . He consequently discovered New York, and part of New England, which are designated in early Spanish maps as the “Land of Gomez.” Finding the continuity of coast still unbroken, he gave up the pursuit, but endeavoured to compensate his failure by the measure, not only unauthorized, but expressly prohibited, of enslaving a number of the natives,—a step which served only to increase the ridicule attached to the abortive issue of an expedition from which very sanguine hopes had been cherished.

Meantime the attention of mankind was almost wholly engrossed by the exploits of Cortes in Mexico,—a region so vast that it might almost be called an empire, and abounding beyond any yet known in the precious metals. With reference to his success, a desire naturally arose to

effect a similar achievement elsewhere. Florida was as extensive ; and no reason was yet known why it should not be equally rich. Pamphilo de Narvaez, the unfortunate rival of Cortes, first sought it as a theatre of glory and wealth. He had been employed by the governor of Cuba to seize and supersede that chief, whom he equalled in valour, but by no means in prudence and conduct. He was surprised, wounded, and completely defeated, upon which most of his troops went over to his adversary. He possessed still, however, sufficient influence to obtain the means of trying his fortune on another field. He was invested in Spain with the title of adelantado of Florida, which included the functions of general and governor, giving authority at once to conquer and rule that territory.

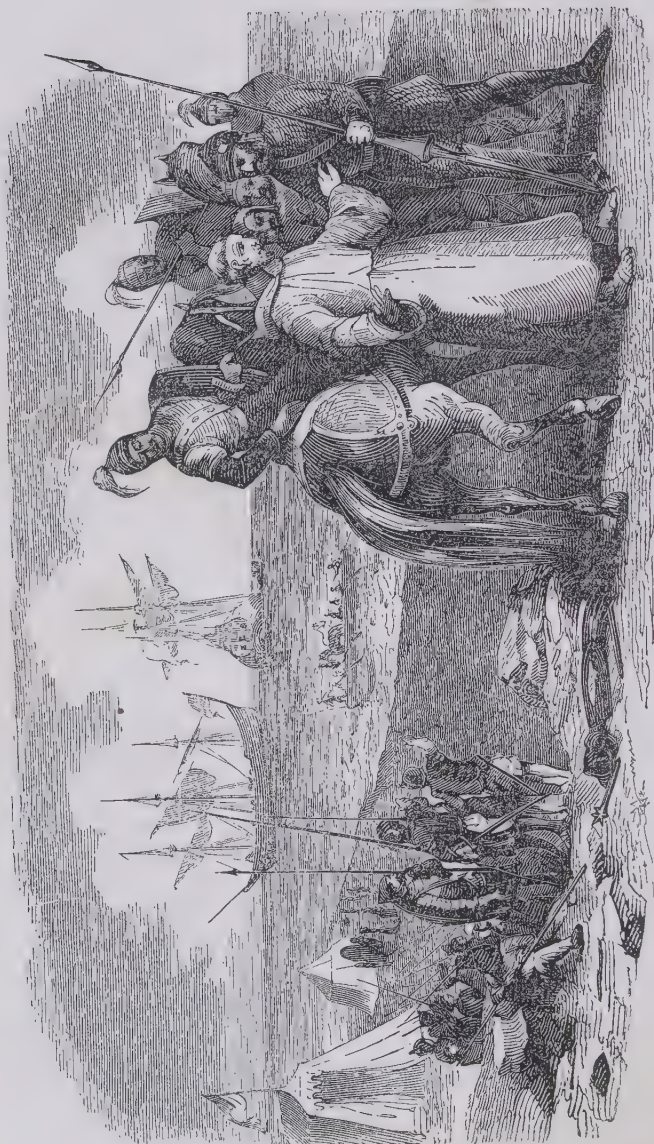
Narvaez, in June, 1527, sailed from St. Lucar, with an armament of five vessels and six hundred men. At Dominica, however, one hundred and forty of the number were induced, by promises held out by the settlers, and probably by a dread of what they might encounter, to stop short. The commander then proceeded to complete his equipments at St. Jago de Cuba ; but, being there assailed by a tremendous hurricane, which shattered all and completely destroyed one of the vessels, his force was reduced to four hundred men and eighty horses.

On the 20th of February, 1528, with his four remaining ships, he set sail, and after coasting along Cuba, where he suffered severely from a violent tempest, left the Havana for Florida. He landed in April at a point difficult to ascertain, but probably near the Bay of Spiritu Santo, where was a village of some importance, with a house large enough to contain three hundred

persons. With this force he marched into the interior, and after a ramble of eight hundred miles, finally returned to the coast, in great penury. Here Narvaez and his men, made rude boats, in which they embarked, and nearly all perished in a storm. Four persons survived, and reached Mexico, and declared that Florida was the richest country in the world. Alvaro Nunez, who gives a history of this expedition, remained among the Indians nine years, and finally escaped to Mexico.

Having recruited himself by a stay of two months in the city of Mexico, he set sail, and arrived at Lisbon on the 9th of August, 1537.

It could scarcely have been expected, after such a series of calamities, and the destruction of an entire expedition, that Florida would have borne any attraction in Spanish eyes. Notwithstanding, when Alvaro reached home, he found a fresh and greater armament ready to sail; new and memorable events having whetted more than ever among that people the appetite for gold and conquest. Peru discovered, conquered, and its treasures grasped by a handful of adventurers, had given birth to the most brilliant ideas of American wealth. Fernando de Soto, originally owning nothing but courage and his sword, had followed the fortunes of Pizarro, and been a chief instrument in annexing to Spain that golden region. He accompanied the first embassy to Atahualpa, commanding one of the three companies of horse which made captive that unfortunate prince; and afterwards proceeding to Cusco, he was active in the reduction of that imperial city. Having shared amply in Peruvian treasure, he returned to his country laden with wealth, and with that dark but lofty fame which attended those memora-



LANDING OF FERDINAND DE SOTO.

ble exploits. His reception was brilliant; he obtained in marriage the daughter of the nobleman under whom he had first served, and appeared in pomp at the court of Charles V. Having accommodated that monarch with a liberal loan, he paved the way for obtaining almost any object on which he should set his heart. But he sued for a fatal gift. His present ample wealth and glory were prized only as a step to something higher; having in Peru been second to Pizarro, he now sought a country, the honour of conquering and ruling which might be wholly his own. He had fixed his eyes on Florida. Charles was exceedingly ready to bestow a boon which cost him nothing, and might place another bright gem in his crown. Soto was created adelantado of that province, and allowed to select thirty leagues in it, to be erected into a marquise. Just as the agreement was concluded, Alvaro arrived with his doleful tale; yet he is said to have given favourable accounts of the country itself. There was even a negotiation for his accompanying the new commander; but they did not agree upon terms, and he obtained a command on the Rio de la Plata.

Soto, now gratified to his utmost wish, proceeded to embark his whole fortune in this grand expedition. As the report spread that he was setting forth to conquer another Peru, many enterprising youths made haste to offer their services; and some, even selling their property, embarked it in the cause. He selected nine hundred and fifty men, most of whom were trained to arms, and of daring valour; a force which, small as it may appear, was superior in number and equipments to those which had subverted the Mexican and Peruvian empires.

On the 6th of April, 1538, Soto embarked his troops in ten vessels, and sailed for Cuba, which was even placed under his command, that he might draw from it every needful resource. There he spent a year in preparation, and Vasco Porcalho, a veteran, who, like himself, had gained by the sword an immense fortune, and was living in splendid retirement, was so delighted with the noble appointment and bold spirit of the expedition, that he joined it with a train of followers and large supplies. He was created lieutenant-general.

On the 18th of May, 1539, the adelantado sailed with nine vessels from the Havana; on the 25th, he saw the coast of Florida; and, on the 30th, landed in the bay of Spiritu Santo, which appears to be not very far from the point chosen by Narvaez.

Had Florida, like Mexico, been under one great government, Soto, with his brave band, would have beaten the army, entered the capital, and been master of the country. But he struggled helplessly against a multitude of fierce petty tribes, whom even now the whole force of the United States has proved unable to put down. They offered no point at which a blow could be struck, and never left him master of more than the spot on which his army stood.

He continued, however, to advance, and after many battles with the natives, and a tedious march through what are now the states of Alabama and Mississippi, he discovered the Mississippi river, and having constructed barges, crossed it, and marched with his army to the north-west till he entered Missouri, always hoping to find gold.

Learning that there lay a mountainous region to the

north-west, which seems to be that at the head of the White River, he proceeded thither, in the vain hope that the rocks might contain gold. Disappointed once more, he bent his course southwards in search of a productive soil, which he found at Cayas, amid the hot and saline springs on the Upper Washita. Descending that river, he arrived at Autiamque (Utiangue), where he resolved to pass his fourth dreary winter. After this long and unfortunate march, and with his troops so miserably reduced, he determined at last upon the measure, from which his mind had so strongly revolted, of returning to the coast, and seeking reinforcements from Cuba or Mexico. He therefore hastily descended the Washita to its junction with the Red River, and the latter stream to its confluence with the Mississippi, where he found himself in the territory of Guachoya, filled with a brave and numerous population. His men being now reduced to fewer than five hundred, and his horses, which had formed his chief strength, to forty, he could no longer hope to vanquish in the field, a brave though barbarous foe. He was obliged to employ art, and act on their superstitious impressions by stating that he was the child of the sun; and availing himself of their astonishment at seeing themselves in a mirror, pretended that in that glass he could see whatever they did at any distance, and thus detect any plot which might be formed against him. He was much concerned to learn that the sea was yet far off, and the road thither greatly obstructed by streams and entangled woods. Amid these anxieties and distresses, he was seized with fever, which, not being treated with due attention, closed in a few days his earthly career.

Soto did not merit quite so hard a destiny, though he was one of that bold bad race who, inflamed by the lust of gold, trampled on prostrate America. The unjust and tyrannical principles sanctioned by false views of loyalty and religion, which impelled to these enormities, were in him tempered at once by much prudence and discretion, and also by more than the usual degree of humanity. Had not his aims been frustrated by the nature of the country and the fierce valour of the people, he might have founded a dominion on a better basis than any of the other Spanish conquerors.

The troops on the death of their commander, were struck with deep alarm. Moscoso, his successor, endeavored to conceal the event from the Indians, pretending that the general had merely gone up on a visit to heaven, whence he would quickly return. Lest his grave should lead to other conclusions, the body was carried out at midnight into the centre of the great river, and, with a weight attached, sunk to the bottom. The cacique, however, politely intimated his consciousness of the true state of the case by presenting two handsome youths, in order that, their heads being cut off, they might serve the chief in the land of souls. Moscoso, declining this gift, endeavoured still to gain belief for his first statement, though probably with little success. The party, meanwhile, felt themselves seriously called upon to consider their future plans. To reach a Spanish settlement by water, without vessels, pilots, or charts, appearing quite desperate, they determined rather to attempt a march to Mexico, not without a faint hope of discovering some golden region which might compensate all their toils. They pushed, accordingly, about three hundred miles

westward, when, after passing a great river, the Colorado de Texas, or the Rio del Norte, the country became almost a desert, and they could not make themselves understood by the inhabitants. They gave up all hope, and determined, at whatever cost, to return and descend the Mississippi. On regaining its banks, they had, like Narvaez's party, to perform the tedious task of constructing seven brigantines. But they fortunately had among their number a sawyer, four or five carpenters, a caulker, and a cooper, and these instructed the rest. The jealousy of the Indians, however, led to a confederacy which might have been fatal, had it not been disclosed by the female captives. The rising of the river enabled them to avoid the danger by immediately setting sail; though a numerous fleet of canoes pursued, cut off a detachment, and harassed them during a great part of the voyage. In fifty-two days they arrived, reduced to the number of three hundred and eleven, at the port of Panuco in Mexico, where they were kindly received both by the governor and people. They had marched in four years upwards of five thousand miles, through a savage and hostile region. They had achieved nothing; not having left even a vestige of their route, except the track of blood by which it had been too often stained.

The Spaniards, when refreshed from their toils, began to look around them; and seeing themselves on a desolate shore, and in a state of utter destitution, bitterly lamented that they had quitted fertile regions, where, independently of gold, they might have established a flourishing colony. Schemes of returning were even formed, but which, from want of union, were ultimately relinquished.

These dreadful reverses damped the zeal of Spain to conquer or colonize Florida; but Canello, a Dominican missionary, who undertook to visit the country with a view to conversion, received ample encouragement from the government. The sinister impression, however, attached to his nation, being extended to every individual of it, he and his companions were put to death. The Spaniards, notwithstanding, continued to claim Florida, and even the whole extent of North America; yet there was not a spot in that vast territory on which one of them dared to set his foot

CHAPTER II.

FRENCH EXPEDITIONS.

FRANCIS I., a powerful monarch, ambitious of every kind of glory, was animated also with eager rivalry of Charles V., who derived much lustre from his possessions in the new world. He therefore ardently desired to follow successfully in the same career; and with this view he supplied to Giovanni Verazzano, a noble Florentine, four vessels destined to America. This chief, after being driven back by a storm, was refitted, and engaged in some successful naval operations on the Spanish coast; and it was then determined, that in the Dolphin with fifty men, provisioned for eight months, he should prosecute his original design of discovery. After encountering a severe tempest, he came, in the middle of March, upon a coast which Mr. Bancroft, with great probability, supposes to be that of North Carolina; and having sailed fifty leagues southward in search of a port without success, he turned again towards the North with the same object. He was once more disappointed as to a harbour; but seeing a fine populous country, he landed in boats, and held some friendly intercourse with the natives. He next proceeded in an eastern direction along a low coast, where even a boat could not touch; but a sailor swam ashore, and though alarmed by some strange gestures, found the natives

kind. A change of course to the northward marks the rounding of Cape Hatteras; and a run of fifty leagues brought him to a fertile region, covered with rich verdure and luxuriant forests. This was Virginia, near the mouth of the Chesapeake, though no mention is made of that great inlet. A sail of one hundred leagues in the same direction led to a spacious bay receiving a noble river, evidently the Hudson. They ascended it a short way in boats, and were delighted with its banks. The coast then trended eastward; and after following it fifty leagues, they reached an island of pleasing aspect, which, being of a triangular form, and about the size of Rhodes, clearly appears to be that named Martha's Vineyard. The weather prevented his landing; and, fifteen leagues farther, he found a very convenient port, where he had again much satisfaction in communicating with the people. Though the latitude of $41^{\circ} 40'$ be about half a degree too low, it seems impossible not to recognize Boston. He then made a course of one hundred and fifty leagues along a country of similar character, but somewhat more elevated, without landing at any point. Another stretch of fifty leagues, first west and then north, brought him to a bolder territory, Nova Scotia, covered with dense forests of fir, pine, and other trees of a northern climate. The inhabitants were fiercer, and carried on trade only under jealous precautions. In a subsequent run of the same extent, he discovered thirty small islands, with narrow channels running between them, being such as are known to stud the northern coast of that country and the adjacent one of Cape Breton. Lastly, by sailing one hundred and fifty leagues farther, he reached in fifty degrees, the land discovered by the Britons (Newfound-

land or Labrador.) His stock of victuals being spent, he here took in water and returned to France.

Verazzano, on the 8th of July, 1524, wrote to the king from Dieppe, a narrative of this voyage. Ramusio heard from different quarters that he had submitted to that monarch the plan of a colony; and the general belief is, that he was again employed by him.

Claims so extensive and so feebly supported as those of Spain to North America were not likely to remain long undisputed. Other European nations were then rapidly advancing in maritime skill and enterprise, among whom for some time France took the lead. The defeat and captivity of the king, followed by a humiliating peace, naturally diverted his mind from distant enterprises, especially such as would have been considered hostile by his rival Charles. The troubles which agitated the country after his death were also unfavourable to such undertakings; nevertheless, the spirit of adventure was cherished among the people, especially the Huguenots, an industrious class, who almost alone raised her commerce and manufactures to a flourishing condition. Rouen, Dieppe, and above all, Rochelle, ranked with the greatest havens in Europe. Admiral Coligni, one of the leaders in that eventful time, formed the scheme of a transatlantic settlement, which might at once extend the resources of his country, and afford an asylum to his Protestant brethren. While the civil war was yet only impending, he enjoyed intervals of favour at court, which enabled him to obtain permission, first to establish one in Brazil; and when that proved unfortunate, to plant another in Florida. He fitted out two vessels in 1562, and placed them under John Ribault of

Dieppe, a seaman of experience. The object was to reach the mouth of the river called by Ayllon the Jordan, now Combahee, in South Carolina; but, steering in too low a latitude, the discoverers reached the St John, near St Augustine, in Florida proper. They were pleased with the aspect of the country; and, sailing northward to their destination, gave to successive rivers the names of the Seine, the Somme, and the Loire, which have not adhered to them. On reaching Port Royal, they were so delighted with its noble harbor, the magnificent trees and beautiful shrubs, that they determined to choose it for the site of their colony. Having seen a fort erected, and the settlement in a promising state, Ribault left twenty-six men, and returned to France for reinforcements and supplies. This seems an imprudent step. The establishment, in its unsettled state, stood in peculiar need of being well governed; whereas it fell into the hands of Albert, a rash and tyrannical officer, who, finding it difficult to maintain authority, where all thought themselves nearly equal, enforced it in the most violent manner. He addressed them in opprobrious language; hanged one of them with his own hand, and threatened others with the same fate. At length they rose in mutiny, put him to death, and appointed a new commander, Nicolas Barre, who restored tranquillity.

Ribault, meantime, in consequence of the breaking out of the great civil war, was unable to make good his expectations and promises. After long waiting for him, the colonists were seized with an extreme desire to return to their native country; and, having no ship, they, like the companions of Narvaez and Moscoso, resolved to build one for themselves. The country afforded some-

what better materials, and they constructed a brigantine fit for the passage; but in their impatience, they laid in a slender stock of provisions, which, during the delay of a tedious calm, was entirely consumed. The last extremities of famine were suffered; and one had been actually sacrificed to preserve the rest, when an English vessel appeared, and received them on board.

The project, though seemingly abandoned, was still cherished by Coligni; and the assassination of the Duke of Guise having been followed by a peace, during which the court endeavoured to soothe the Huguenots, he obtained permission to attempt it on an enlarged scale. In 1564, he succeeded in fitting out three vessels, abundantly supplied, and gave the command to Rene Laudonniere, an able officer who had accompanied Ribault. Taking a circuitous course by the Canaries and the West Indies, he made for Florida, which he chose to term New France; and at Ribault's first station on the river St. John (named May from the month of its discovery), the party resolved to stop and settle. The fort of La Carolina was erected, and expeditions sent up the river, where small quantities of gold and silver were seen; reports being also received as to the mountainous country in the interior, where these metals abounded. The hopes thus kindled were quite illusory, and diverted attention from the solid labours of agriculture. Alarming symptoms of insubordination appeared; many of the party formed the criminal resolution of seeking a fortune by piracy. They confined their commander, and extorted from him, by threats of immediate death, a commission to follow this unlawful vocation; while, by rifling his stores, they obtained materials for its prosecution. After various for

tune, they were successful in capturing a vessel, richly laden, and having the governor of Jamaica on board. Hoping for a large ransom, they sailed to the island, and unguardedly allowed him to send messengers to his wife; through whom he conveyed a secret intimation, in consequence of which an armed force surrounded the pirates, captured the larger of their vessels, while the other escaped by cutting her cables. Those on board the latter being reduced to extremity from want of food, were obliged to return to the settlement, where Laudonniere condemned four of the ringleaders to be executed.

That chief meantime continued to make incursions to the interior, and entered into various transactions with the natives in the vain hope of arriving at some region rich in gold and silver. Neglecting to establish themselves on the solid basis of agriculture, the settlers depended for food on the Indians, whose own stock was scanty. They were therefore obliged to undertake long journeys, without obtaining a full supply; and the natives, seeing them thus straitened, raised the price, disdainfully telling them to eat their goods, if they did not choose to give them for grain and fish. Amid these sufferings, and no prospect of realizing their fond dreams of wealth, they were seized, as was usual, with the ardent desire of returning home, and shrunk not from the laborious task of constructing vessels for that purpose. Amid their painful labour, they were cheered by a visit from Sir John Hawkins, who gave them a liberal supply of provisions. They did not, however, intermit their task, and on the 28th of August, 1565, were on the point of sailing, when several ships were descried approaching; which proved to be a new expedition, under

Ribault, sent to supersede Laudonniere, of whose severity complaints had been made. He brought a numerous reinforcement, with ample supplies, which induced the colonists to remain; but they were soon exposed to a dreadful calamity.

The desire of conquering Florida, which had never become extinct in Spain, now called forth a new adventurer, in the person of Don Pedro Menendez, who, having served with distinction and accumulated wealth both in Holland and America, had there also learned the lessons of cruel bigotry. He became amenable to the sentence of a military tribunal, which, however, on account of previous reputation, was leniently executed; and, to retrieve his honour, he undertook to equip, at his own expense, an expedition to Florida, of which he was appointed governor. While his preparations were in progress, Philip II., having received intelligence of the Huguenot settlement pointed out to him, as a still more glorious task, that of rooting out the heretics from Spanish America; and to enable him to accomplish this object, three hundred troops were added to his armament. Menendez sailed from San Lucar with eleven ships and one thousand men; and such was the enthusiasm kindled for this "holy war," that, on his reaching the Canaries, the number had swelled to two thousand, six hundred. Notwithstanding some severe losses by shipwreck, he reached the coast of Florida, where falling in with three French vessels, and being questioned as to his intentions, he replied, with a fiery zeal, untempered by prudence, that he was come to extirpate the Protestants out of the country. The French hereupon cut their cables, and regained the port with all speed; but Menendez, having

reconnoitred their position, and considering an immediate landing impracticable, repaired to the neighbouring river of St. Augustine. He there founded a settlement, considered by Mr. Bancroft the oldest town now in the United States, and forthwith prepared for hostile operations.

Ribault, on learning the arrival of this formidable enemy, thought it most advisable to become the assailant without delay, before they could fortify their position. This conduct has been censured, but perhaps too much with reference to the fatal event. Leaving Laudonniere with eighty-five men in the fort, he sailed on the 8th of September, and arrived on the 10th at the mouth of the St. Augustine; but was there overtaken by a tremendous storm, which drove him far out to sea. Menendez, concluding that this expedition must have comprised the flower of the French troops, and that those left in the fort were few in number, hastily formed the resolution to attack them. Selecting five hundred of his best men, he led them across a wild country, intersected by broad streams, swamps, and forests, encouraging them to proceed by an appeal to all the sentiments of honour and religion. On the fourth evening the place was descried, but the night was spent in the neighbourhood amid a dreadful tempest, which, while it inflicted severe suffering, also lulled the enemy's suspicions. At daybreak the three gates of the fort were seen open, and only a single Frenchman outside, who was lured into the camp and killed. Menendez then ordered his followers to rush forward, and enter before any discovery could be made. But a soldier, chancing to be on the rampart, gave the alarm; though before Laudonniere

could be roused, the enemy were in the fort, and had commenced an indiscriminate massacre. That chief, with several companions, leaped from the wall, ran into the woods, and, after wandering some time, found a little bark in which, under severe want and imminent perils, they made their way to Bristol. Spanish writers assert, that after the slaughter had continued some time, an order was issued to spare the women and children, and that, while two hundred perished, seventy were saved.

Ribault, meanwhile, after being driven out to sea, saw his vessels completely wrecked among the rocks in the Bahama Channel. He escaped on shore with nearly all his men; but their condition was most deplorable, and, in endeavouring to reach their settlement by a march of three hundred miles through a barren country, the most extreme hardships were endured. At length, on the ninth day, they beheld the river, and the fort on the opposite side; but what was their dismay to see on the ramparts Spanish colours flying! Their leader made a solemn pause before he could resolve to place any trust in men known to be imbued with the most ferocious bigotry. Seeing, however, no other hope, he sent two of the party to represent that their sovereigns were at peace; that, agreeably to instructions, they had strictly avoided interfering with any of their settlements; they asked only food, and a vessel to convey them home. Their reception is very differently reported. According to the French it was most kind, and ample pledges of safety were given. The Spaniards, on the contrary, allege that Menendez acquainted them with his object, and the bloody treatment he had given to their countrymen; but added, that if they would lay down their

arms, and place themselves at his mercy, he would do with them whatever God in his grace might suggest. We cannot however believe that without some more positive pledge, Ribault would have agreed to surrender. Having delivered their arms, his men were conveyed across the river by thirty at a time. They were dismayed to find themselves bound two and two together, with their hands behind their backs ; but this, they were assured, was only a temporary precaution. At length they were drawn up in front of the castle, when the Spanish chief with his sword drew a line round them on the sand, and on a signal given, the soldiers commenced the work of slaughter, with every excess of cruelty and indignity ; the military band playing the whole time to drown the cries for mercy and the shrieks of the dying Ribault, amid vain remonstrances, was struck in the back and fell, covered with wounds. When the work of blood was finished, the assassins suspended to a tree a number of the mangled limbs, attaching the inscription, "Not because they are Frenchmen, but because they are heretics and enemies of God."

This dismal tragedy, when announced in France, gave birth to a mingled sentiment of grief and rage accompanied by a loud cry for vengeance. These feelings were the more deep among the Huguenots, from the suspicion that they were not shared by the sovereign Charles IX., who was closely united with Philip in relentless enmity to the Protestant name. Yet a remonstrance was presented from fifteen hundred widows and orphans, calling on him to avenge this dreadful deed, and vindicate the honour of his country. The king made only formal remonstrances, and accepted a superficial apology ; but

there was a spirit in the nation itself which, independently of his will, provided the means of punishment.

Dominique de Gourgues was universally distinguished in that age as a daring warrior. He had fought successfully both against the Spaniards and Turks, by the former of whom he had been held some time a prisoner, treated with the utmost indignity, and compelled to work as a galley slave. On receiving intelligence of the Floridan catastrophe, his own wrongs, together with those of his countrymen, took full possession of his mind; and he devoted his whole energies to the work of vengeance. By selling his little property, and borrowing from friends, he equipped three ships, with two hundred and thirty soldiers and sailors, mostly chosen adherents, who had often conquered along with him. Carefully concealing his object, he obtained a license for the slave trade, and sailed on the 22d of August, 1567; but on approaching the Cape de Verd islands, he changed his course and stood across the Atlantic. It was not before reaching the western point of Cuba, that he unfolded to the whole party their dreadful destination. Some were disposed to shrink; but, being persuaded by the rest, they at length joined in a unanimous consent.

De Gourgues, in sailing along the coast of Florida, passed imprudently near to San Matheo, of which he was warned by his squadron, who had found themselves saluted as Spaniards; whereupon he hastened to another river fifteen leagues distant, and landed as secretly as possible. Finding the natives as usual imbued with deadly hostility towards the subjects of Philip, he engaged their co-operation; and learning that the enemy had built two small forts he made a rapid march and

spent the night at a short distance from them. In the morning, he was alarmed to see the whole garrison in motion on the ramparts; but they had assembled from some accidental cause, and soon withdrew. The French then advanced through a thick wood, which brought them almost close to one of the smaller forts. On emerging from the forest they were seen, the alarm was given, and two guns fired; but, rushing forward with wild impetuosity, they scaled the ramparts, an Indian chief being foremost. The garrison, seized with terror, ran out in every direction, and were nearly all killed or taken. Those in the next station followed their example and soon shared their fate; but the main fortress was still untouched, and defended by troops far more numerous than the assailants. A small party, however, having rashly sallied out, were surrounded and nearly cut off; whereupon the whole body, struck with the general panic, at once abandoned their stronghold, and sought safety in the woods. Being eagerly pursued, most of them were taken; and De Gourgues had given strict orders to bring in as many alive as possible. He then led them all together to the fatal tree on which the remains of his slaughtered countrymen yet hung, and having upbraided them in the strongest terms for their treachery and cruelty, he hanged them all; suspending a number of their bodies on the same trunk, and substituting the following inscription:—"Not because they are Spaniards, but because they are traitors, robbers, and murderers." Had this execution been confined to a few of the ringleaders, it might have been held as a just retribution; but being inflicted on so large a scale

it almost rivalled the atrocity which it was meant to avenge.

De Gourgues had not come with any intention of settlement. Embarking, therefore, with whatever was valuable in the forts, he sailed for Rochelle, and was received in that Protestant capital with the loudest acclamations. His reception at Bordeaux was equally flattering; but it was very different at Paris, where Charles showed no little inclination to transmit his head to Philip, who loudly demanded it. Steps were even taken for bringing him to trial; but they were found so excessively unpopular, that it was deemed expedient to withdraw them, and allow him to retire into Normandy.

CHAPTER III.

SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA.

BRITAIN, notwithstanding the claims derived from the important discovery of Cabot, held, for a long time, by no means the foremost place in American colonization. She was surpassed, not by Spain only, but even by France. Through the voyages of Verazzano, Cartier, Champlain, and others, the latter kingdom acquired extensive claims, and formed some important settlements. But the long civil war, ending in the humiliation and downfall of the protestants, who were almost exclusively skilled in commerce and navigation, threw her greatly behind in this career; and, notwithstanding some strenuous efforts at a later period, she never could rank as a first-rate colonial power. But England, during the reign of Elizabeth, while the two other nations were dormant or sinking, made extraordinary movements, and advanced with rapid steps to that pre-eminence which she has so signally maintained. The queen indeed, frugal and cautious, expended little of her own treasure; but she had the skill to attract, and direct to her own purposes, the vast resources of her subjects. Great exertions were made by individuals and associations, including many of those eminent characters who distinguished that age. Their attention was for a long time engrossed by a northern passage to the East Indies round America.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert first attempted colonization on a great scale ; but his expedition, directed to more northerly coasts, does not come within our present range, while its disastrous issue was calculated to deter future adventurers.

Sir Walter Raleigh, however, undertook to found a colony, which has become the most flourishing in modern times. In 1584, he obtained from Elizabeth a patent, conferring those almost regal privileges which were never denied to any one who adventured his fortune in colonial undertakings. He, and his heirs for ever, were to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy all such remote heathen and barbarous lands as he should discover ; he might capture any vessel that attempted to trade thither without his license, unless driven by stress of weather, or engaged in the Newfoundland fishery ; and in short, no reservation was made, except the fifth part of the gold and silver which might be obtained.

Sir Walter determined to direct his attention to a more southern and fertile region than that which had proved so fatal to his predecessor. He did not go in person, but sent, in the first instance, a small exploratory expedition of two vessels, under Amadas and Barlow, officers of merit. They sailed in April, 1584, and, following his views, pursued their course by the Canaries and West Indies. Thence, bending northward, on the 4th of July they came upon the coast of Carolina, and were enchanted by the delicious fragrance which breathed from it. They were obliged to sail one hundred and twenty miles before finding any appearance of a harbour ; the coast proved low and sandy ; but green hills rose in the interior, and vines grew in a profusion which they

had never seen equalled in Europe. At length they ventured to land upon Wokokon, near Ocracock inlet, which opens into Pamlico Sound. After exploring the neighbouring coasts and sounds, the navigators returned home in September, with two natives, Manteo and Wanchese, giving a most flattering account of the country and people. They declared the soil to be "the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful, and wholesome of all the world;" the people "most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age."

These reports kindled all that enthusiasm which naturally arises on any discovery begetting vague and brilliant hopes. Raleigh expended nearly his whole fortune in fitting out seven vessels, which were easily filled with emigrants to the number of one hundred and eight. None of the ships, indeed, exceeded one hundred and forty tons, and three were mere boats. The command was given to Sir Richard Grenville, one of the brightest ornaments of that age of gallantry, and surnamed "The Brave." The fleet sailed early in April; but having again taken the circuitous route of the West Indies, did not reach its destination till the end of June. The crews landed, and undertook an excursion into the interior, where they were as before well received; but the foundation of future enmity was laid, when, on account of the disappearance of a silver cup, a village was burned, and the grain removed. In August, Grenville, who had merely undertaken to conduct the naval armament, departed for England, leaving as permanent governor, Ralph Lane, a brave officer, but wanting, it should seem,

that consummate prudence and discretion, so necessary in the management of a new colony.

He made excursions into the interior, quarreled with the natives, and when the party was nearly reduced to starvation by want of provisions, a fleet of twenty-three vessels was seen in the offing; and after some alarm lest it should prove a hostile squadron, the joyful announcement was made of its being that of Sir Francis Drake, returning from his victorious expedition against the Spanish main. That gallant officer readily agreed to give them a store of provisions, a sloop of seventy tons, and other small craft, with which they might either explore the coasts or return to England; the latter, it is probable, being the real object. A violent storm, however, destroyed these vessels, thus defeating the arrangement; and Lane upon the earnest entreaty of the settlers, contented himself with obtaining a place on board the fleet, by which he and his adventurers might be conveyed home.

The conclusion that Raleigh had deserted them was quite unfounded. A few days after this hasty departure, there arrived a brig of one hundred tons, provided with every thing needful for their wants; but to the utter amazement of the crew, there were no colonists to supply. After sailing about some time, and satisfying themselves of the fact they too returned to Europe. This was another hasty step; for a fortnight had not elapsed, when Sir Richard Grenville appeared, bringing three well appointed ships, laden with every means of supporting and enlarging the colony. His dismay may be conceived when neither the vessel previously despatched, nor one Englishman, could be found within

those savage precincts. He therefore left merely fifteen men to erect a fort, and keep a certain hold of the country till farther reinforcements could be sent out.

All this complication of failure, blunder, and disaster did not yet discourage Raleigh. In April of the following year, he fitted out a new expedition of three ships, and one hundred and fifty persons, led by John White, who was appointed governor, with twelve assistants, who also, perhaps, contributed to the expense. Attempts were made to establish it on a somewhat more solid footing. Implements of agriculture were provided; several families went out, and the party, including seventeen females and nine boys, arrived in July, and proceeded to the former settlement. Here a dreadful scene met their eyes; the fort was razed to the ground; the houses, though still standing, were open and tenantless; the floors overgrown with shrubs and weeds, on which deer were feeding. The bones of one man lay scattered on the ground; while of the rest not a trace remained. After anxious inquiry, it was found that a band of Indians had surprised and burnt the fort, when the English, rushing out to save themselves, were either killed or chased into the woods, where they soon perished.

White began by soliciting from the Indian chiefs a renewal of their former alliance, promising the most friendly treatment, and that every thing which had passed should be forgiven. They announced that an answer would be returned in seven days; and when the time elapsed without its being fulfilled, he determined on a hostile expedition. Led by Manteo, he attacked a party, and drove them into the forest; but was dismayed to find that by mistake he had fallen upon one of the

few friendly tribes. He then relinquished further proceedings ; but all hope of conciliatory arrangements was lost.

As winter approached, and the vessel was about to return to Europe, the colonists began seriously to view their situation. They could look for nothing from the Indians but the most deadly hostility, while the raising of supplies for themselves was a work of time and uncertainty. They therefore joined in an earnest entreaty to White, that he would accompany the ship, and exert himself in bringing to them further aid and support. He strongly objected, on the ground that it would have the appearance as if he were deserting his own colony ; but they insisted, and having delivered a written testimony, signed and sealed, stating that the proposal came from themselves, he consented. There had been born to him during his residence a granddaughter, Virginia Dare, who is supposed by Mr. Bancroft to be the first offspring of English parents on the soil of the United States.

White returned at an unfortunate crisis, when the whole nation was engrossed by preparations to meet the Spanish armada. Sir Richard Grenville, while making ready to sail to Virginia, was detained for this more important service. Yet Raleigh contrived to furnish the other with two well-provided vessels ; but that officer imprudently going out of his way in search of prizes, in which he was ultimately unsuccessful, had his ships severely damaged, and was obliged to return. This was succeeded by the actual arrival of the grand armament in the channel, which for a season banished every other thought.

Even after this eventful period of danger and triumph,

the colony sustained another severe loss. Raleigh having spent £40,000, nearly his whole fortune, and encountered only a series of disaster, without any immediate benefit or sure prospect, determined to turn his attention to other objects. He found an association who, on having his privileges transferred to them, undertook the charge of supporting the settlement; and yet, through the delays incident to the change, White could not be fitted out till 1590. He sailed in May; but, in consequence of adverse winds, did not reach Roanoke till the middle of August. Again the colony was in a state of utter desolation; though there appeared reason to hope that it had removed to a more favourable site formerly projected. This was the island of Croatoan, fifty miles distant, in which Manteo resided, and where they had met a most friendly reception. In that event it had been stipulated that the letters *c r o* should be carved on the bark of a tree, which were found, and elsewhere the full name Croatoan. A cross was to have indicated a disastrous removal: and this sign of evil was absent. Chests with various stores had been buried in the earth; some were entire; others had been discovered and rifled by the Indians. On the whole, White concluded that all was well, and began to steer for the new station; but meeting with some difficulties, and the season being advanced, it was very coolly resolved to make for the West Indies, trade there, and touch at the colony on his return home. After coming out into the open ocean, the wind was so adverse to his proposed course, and so favourable to that for Britain, that the latter was adopted, and he arrived at home in October.

It would not be easy to find a parallel to this series of

abortive and disastrous expeditions; for after so many successive colonies, and such lavish expenditure, not a trace was discoverable that an Englishman had ever set foot on the soil of Virginia. It can scarcely therefore be considered a reflection on British enterprise that it should for some time have paused: and yet, by an elastic power, it soon rose again from under the deepest depression. In 1602, a vessel sailed, under Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, with thirty-two men, twelve of whom intended to settle. Striking directly across the ocean, he came upon the coast of Massachusetts; and after sailing onward some time, reached a bold promontory which, from the great quantity of fish caught in the vicinity, he named Cape Cod; and it has ever formed a conspicuous point on the American continent. The crew, having merely touched the shores of New England began to "trend the coast southerly," and after passing some dangerous spots, named Tucker's Terror, Point Care, and other promontories, they reached a large island which they called Martha's Vineyard. Having landed, they were pleased with its aspect, yet sailed on till they entered Buzzard's Bay, adjoining Rhode Island, which, appearing one of the stateliest sounds ever seen, received the name of Gosnold's Hope. Elizabeth's Island, within its circuit, was chosen as a desirable place of settlement. They remained however but a short time and left no colonists at their departure.

Although this expedition did not issue in settlement, it renewed a favourable impression respecting American colonization. Hakluyt, the indefatigable promoter of discovery, prevailed upon several merchants of Bristol to equip two small vessels; and Raleigh, who still held

the patent extending over all this coast, being asked for his consent, readily gave it signed and sealed. Two ships of fifty and twenty-six tons respectively were placed under Martin Pring, who, sailing by the Azores, came upon the shores of Maine, in 43° N. lat., near the bay of Penobscot. The coast was fruitful; but as it yielded little sassafras, he proceeded southwards till he came into the track of Gosnold, which he followed to a bay in lat. 41° , where there was an abundant supply of that favourite plant. The first intercourse with the Indians was friendly; but afterwards alarm was taken at their coming armed in large numbers, with a threatening aspect. Pring confirmed the favourable account of the country given by his predecessor.

Circumstances now appeared so promising as to influence individuals of the highest distinction. The Earl of Southampton, one of the most accomplished noblemen of the age, and Lord Arundel of Wardour, fitted out George Weymouth, who had already, in searching for the north-west passage, made some discoveries on the coast of Labrador. Sailing on the last day of March, 1605, on the 13th of May he fell in with the American coast in about 41° ; and afterwards explored the coast to the northward, but returned without making any settlement.

Although the attempt to plant colonies in America had hitherto proved unsuccessful, yet it was not abandoned. Accordingly, in the year 1606, James I. granted letters patent to two companies: the one, composed of adventurers belonging to London, was named the *First*, or *Southern* colony of Virginia, and was ordered to settle between 34° and 41° of latitude; the other, con-

sisting of merchants belonging to Bristol, Plymouth, and Exeter, was called the *Second*, or *Northern* colony, and was authorized to make its settlement between 38° and 45° , but at the distance of at least one hundred miles from the other colony. The territory granted to the first company was called Virginia, without any distinguishing epithet; but, in the year 1614, the territory assigned to the second company was called *New England*, a name which designated the country on the east of the Hudson.

The first, or London Company, sent out one hundred and ten emigrants, who, on the 29th of April, 1607, arrived on the coast of Virginia, at a point which, in honour of the Prince of Wales, they named Cape Henry. They afterwards formed a settlement on James' River, and founded Jamestown.

In the year 1609 many of the nobility and gentry joined the London Company, and obtained a new charter in the name of the "Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London, for the first Colony of Virginia." The charter bestowed on the company the absolute property of the country for two hundred miles to the south of Cape Comfort, and as far to the north of that point, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. Thus, by a few strokes of his pen, and an act of gigantic injustice, the king of England bestowed on a few of his subjects, as a magnificent but uncostly present, about 6° of latitude, and upwards of 50° in longitude, the property of many independent tribes. The vast extent of the grant was not then, indeed, distinctly understood; but this ignorance did not lessen the extravagance and injustice of the pretension of the king of England to de

prive so many independent nations of their territorial property, and transfer it to his own people.

The company was empowered to make ordinances for the colony, and for those at sea on their way to it; and was exempted from all subsidies in Virginia for twenty-one years; and from all imposts on goods exported or imported from England, or any other part of the king's dominions, "excepting the five pounds in the hundred due for customs."

The adventurers, elated by anticipated wealth, fitted out nine ships, provided with every thing deemed necessary for the settlement of a permanent colony. They procured five hundred emigrants, although they gave them no adequate encouragement. Only seven of the ships arrived in safety at their place of destination.

By the nature of the country and climate, their own inexperience, their dissensions, the hostility of the natives, and want of provisions, the colonists rapidly disappeared; and of the five hundred who had sailed from England, only sixty remained at the end of six months after reaching the American shore. But new emigrants and abundant supplies arrived, under lord Delaware, who had been appointed captain-general for life. His lordship soon re-established order; but his health declining, he was obliged to sail for England early in the year 1611.

On his departure disorder again appeared; but Sir Thomas Dale arriving in the month of May, with a new body of emigrants, and cattle and provisions for a year, the colony once more assumed the appearance of prosperity. The adventurers obtained a new charter, which confirmed the two former, and also granted them

all the islands in the ocean within three hundred leagues of the coast of Virginia. The corporation was also new modeled, and received a license to open lotteries in any part of England, for promoting the interests of the colony, by which they raised 29,000*l*.

Sir Thomas Gates arrived in the colony in the month of August, 1611, and administered its affairs till the beginning of the year 1614; when the government again fell into the hands of Sir Thomas Dale, to whom the Virginians owe the introduction of landed property. In 1615 he assigned fifty acres of land to every emigrant and his heirs; but in the beginning of the year 1616 he sailed for England, leaving the government in the hands of Sir George Yeardly. In the course of this year the cultivation of tobacco, which had been originally brought from Tobago to England, was introduced into Virginia.

Mr. Argal arrived as deputy-governor in May, 1617, and published various edicts. His government was imprudent and oppressive; and in order to remedy the evils of his administration, the treasurer and council of the corporation appointed Sir George Yeardly captain-general of the colony, with power to inquire into grievances and to redress them. Sir George arrived in Virginia in April, 1619, and soon announced his intention of calling a general assembly; a measure which excited much joy among a people who had hitherto been subject to the arbitrary authority of the prince, the selfish edicts of an English corporation, or the capricious orders of a haughty governor, without any of the privileges of free men.

In the month of June, the captain-general issued

writs for the election of delegates. The colony had been divided into seven *hundreds*, or distinct settlements, which seemed to enjoy some of the privileges of boroughs, and hence the assembly of delegates received the name of the House of Burgesses. The governor and council of state, who were appointed by the treasurer and company, and the burgesses who were chosen by the people, met in one chamber, and discussed all matters relating to the interests of the whole community. This improvement in the constitution gave the people much satisfaction. It produced the best effects on the affairs of the colony, and the emigrants began to form more permanent settlements than they had hitherto done.

In the course of this year government ordered the company to transport one hundred convicts to Virginia, and these outcasts of society were very acceptable to the colonists. But next year Virginia was disgraced by a viler and more noxious stain,—the introduction of negro slavery. The Dutch were not then prohibited from trading with the British settlements in America; and one of their ships brought to the colony a cargo of negroes from the coast of Africa. The Virginians, who had but lately escaped from a state of humble vassalage, readily bought these unhappy victims of rapine, and became guilty of enslaving their fellow-men. In every age mankind have exhibited melancholy instances of glaring inconsistency, base selfishness, and ruthless oppression; but the conduct of the colonists on this occasion deserves a prominent place in the ignominious records of wickedness. And even in the progress of civilization they have not attempted to wipe away the stain which so early disfigured their community; for

slavery still continues the disgrace and scourge of the southern states.

But while the Virginians were thus introducing slavery into their colony, their own constitution underwent a change. The treasurer and company decreed that henceforth there should be two councils in the colony: the one nominated by the treasurer and company, and removable at pleasure, was to be called the Council of State, and was to advise the governor in the administration of affairs: the other was to be called the General Assembly, and was to consist of the governor and council, and of two burgesses, chosen by the inhabitants from each town, hundred, or settlement in the colony. The assembly was to enact laws, but the governor was to have a negative. No law was to be in force till confirmed by the general court in England; and no order of the general court was to bind the colony till it received the assent of the assembly.

The company having offered lands to such as chose to emigrate, upwards of three thousand persons passed into the colony. These emigrants took possession of the territory of the Indians, without paying them any price for it, and not even asking their permission to settle there. This naturally gave offence: the Indians meditated revenge; and in the year 1622, by a simultaneous attack on all the settlements, they massacred three hundred and forty-seven persons without regard to age, sex, or rank. To the horrors of the tomahawk and scalping-knife the miseries of famine were soon added; and of eighty plantations that were fast filling up, in a short time no more than eight remained. Only about eighteen hundred of the colonists survived these calamities.

Frequent complaints having been made to King James against the treasurer and company, he required them to surrender their grants; and on their refusal, he brought them before the Court of King's Bench, which, in 1624, with a courtly complaisance, decided agreeably to his wishes. The king seemed to consider the colonies as his own private property, which he was entitled to manage according to his pleasure; and hence he affected to take them under his own immediate care. Charles I. followed the same arbitrary course. Discontent and confusion ensued; and prosperity departed from the colony.

During the civil wars in England, the Virginians maintained their allegiance to the king; but, in the month of October, 1650, after the parliamentary forces had completely gained the ascendant, a strong armament was sent out to establish the authority of the commonwealth in the colony. With this force the colonists were not in a condition to contend, and therefore they prudently agreed to a capitulation; in which it was stipulated "that the plantation of Virginia, and all the inhabitants thereof, shall enjoy such freedom and privileges as belong to the free people of England; that the general assembly shall convene as formerly; that the people of Virginia shall have a free trade, as the people of England, to all places and with all nations; that Virginia shall be free from all customs, taxes, and impositions whatsoever, and that none shall be imposed on them without the consent of the general assembly; and that neither forts nor castles shall be erected, nor garrisons maintained, without their consent."

The Virginians, amounting at that time to about

thirty thousand souls, has a strong predilection for the royal government ; and during the protectorship numbers of royalists emigrated to the colony. On the death of Cromwell, they proclaimed Charles II., and were forward in testifying their allegiance to the house of Stuart.

The Restoration exposed the colonists to a great evil, which they seemed to have little reason to apprehend. The Navigation Act, passed under the commonwealth, limiting their commerce to the mother-country, had been much evaded, and latterly altogether disregarded. Its provisions, however, were now re-enacted with increased rigour, and with strict rules for their enforcement ; and the merchants of England, imbued with the erroneous notions then prevalent respecting the advantages derivable from such monopolies, used all their influence in its support. Even Charles showed a zeal on the subject which could scarcely have been expected from his careless temper. The Virginians requested Berkely to repair to London and plead their cause, which he seems to have done zealously. He represented the low state to which the colony was reduced by the depression in the price of tobacco, their only exportable staple ; wine and silk having hitherto failed. At present, it could ill afford the £40,000 which the monopoly cost, and all of which went to enrich a few English merchants. He urged, with or without reason, that while the turbulent New Englanders hesitated not to evade or disregard these regulations, the loyal Virginians submitted, and became the victims of their obedience. All these arguments were vainly urged to a nation and sovereign who regarded the measure with such fond partiality.

An internal cause still more cruelly interrupted the

success of the colony. The Indians, once so hostile, had for a long time been overawed or conciliated ; but the Susquehannas, a singularly fierce tribe, having been driven from the north by the Five Nations, began to commit depredations upon the frontiers. The colonists on the border, possessing doubtless much of the lawless character of back-settlers, violently retaliated. Six chiefs, sent by the Indians to treat for peace, were seized and put to death ; and the just indignation expressed by Berkeley at this outrage gave great offence. After war had raged some time, that people again made pacific overtures, but without success. The governor, however, endeavoured to second their object, and to mitigate the ferocious spirit which now animated the colonists. These humane efforts were adverse to their present disposition, and lost to him that popularity which he had so long enjoyed, while his views and even his errors were in unison with theirs. The consequences soon proved disastrous.

Nathaniel Bacon, son of a respectable family in Suffolk, carried out the unusual fortune of £1800, and, possessing an uncommon share of address, eloquence, and intelligence, acquired great influence and a seat in the council. Having formed a border plantation on the upper part of James River, he found the war raging with the Indians, who carried it on with their usual cruelties. Ill-informed perhaps of the wrongs by which they had been impelled, he sympathized with the sufferings of his countrymen, and entertained an eager desire for revenge. A farm of his own being attacked, and the servant killed, he took up arms without the knowledge of Berkeley, and rallying round him all inspired by similar sentiments,

was soon at the head of five hundred men. The governor denounced this armament as rebellious, and issued a mandate to disperse, which was partly obeyed. His attention was distracted, however, by a rising of the popular party in the lower province, to resist the aristocratic ascendant. The two interests became united; and the government, unable to resist, were obliged to agree that the assembly, having now sat an exorbitant time, should be dissolved, and a new one elected. The result was entirely on the popular side; universal suffrage was restored; all arbitrary taxation abolished; and various abuses suppressed, though without any vindictive proceedings against their authors. Bacon had at first been made prisoner; but on so strong a manifestation of the assembly's will, he was set at liberty, and even promised a commission; but this was ultimately refused. He then secretly withdrew, and assembled five hundred or six hundred men, with whom he became complete master of the seat of government. Sir William strenuously resisted; and, with the boldness of an old cavalier, bared his breast to the adversary, saying, "A fair mark—shoot!" Bacon declared they did not wish to hurt a hair of his head, but only desired a commission to save their lives from the Indians. The authority was granted to him, and he marched to the frontier.

As soon, however, as the immediate pressure was removed, the governor, rashly as it should seem, published a proclamation, reversing all the proceedings of the assembly, and again declaring Bacon a traitor. This step immediately kindled a civil war. That daring chief marched back towards Jamestown, and was joined by

numerous adherents of the popular class. The property of the royalists was confiscated, their wives seized, and carried along with the troops as hostages; and these violences being retaliated, wide devastation was spread over the country. Berkeley, meantime, had assembled in the capital his friends, with some seamen landed from vessels in the harbour. Here, however, they were soon besieged, and being repulsed in a sally, found themselves no match for the hardy borderers. It was necessary to evacuate the town during the night, and withdraw his entire force to the eastern shore, leaving the whole west in possession of the insurgents.

Bacon now acted entirely as ruler of Virginia, and declaring the governor to have abdicated, summoned an assembly in his own name. It was determined to resist any attempts from the mother country to restore Berkeley to power, and, indeed, the resolution was almost fixed to throw off its yoke altogether. As Jamestown might afford a position for establishing an English force, the violent measure was adopted of devoting it to the flames. This was executed with such ruthless determination, that the fires being kindled in the night, there remained in the morning scarcely a vestige of that original capital, which has never again reared its head. Nothing now appeared to remain but to cross the river and drive before them the discouraged remnant of Berkeley's forces. Suddenly, however, the leader sickened, and, after a short illness, died; a catastrophe that put an end to the insurrection, which, after all, had not any deep root among the nation. Its temporary success seems to have been owing to the union of the border settlers with the popular faction; but the latter, forming still a decided

minority, could not permanently support it. Several of the leaders attempted to make a stand, but were successively reduced and taken by Beverley, an active royalist chief. The governor, whose feelings seem throughout the whole transaction to have been greatly excited, acted now with excessive rigour. Twenty persons were hanged, and it is supposed that a greater number would have endured the same punishment, had not the assembly presented an address entreating "that he would spill no more blood." One of the deputies said, "had we let him alone, he would have hanged half the country." Charles II., whose disposition was not cruel, exclaimed, "The old fool has taken away more lives than I for the murder of my father," and issued a proclamation, censuring this conduct as derogatory to his clemency. Sir William was recalled, and his place temporarily supplied by Colonel Jeffereys, who, with two others, constituted a commission of inquiry. They seem to have made it very searching, with even a friendly disposition towards the people. The different counties were invited to produce statements of grievances, and the records of the assembly were forced from their clerk,—a measure against which they strongly remonstrated. A report was drawn up, in which, while the conduct of the insurgents was strongly condemned, that of the government and several members of the council were also censured. These reflections against Berkeley are supposed to have hastened his death, which took place before he had an interview with the king. The assembly then felt a revival of their old attachment. They passed a vote, declaring that he had been an excellent governor, and recommended a grant to Lady Berkeley of £300. Jeffereys, during

his short administration, had the satisfaction of putting an end, on approved terms, to the Indian war.

We must now mention, that in 1649, after the death of Charles I., several royalist noblemen had obtained a grant of the territory between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, called the Northern Neck of Virginia, with the view of making it a place of refuge for their adherents. This donation, owing to the ruin of their cause, did not then take effect; and, in 1669, the owners sold their rights to Lords Culpepper and Arlington. The former, in 1673, procured also from the thoughtless monarch a lease for thirty-one years of the quit rents, escheats, and other casualties, of all Virginia. The colonists sent a deputation, strenuously to remonstrate against this arrangement, as interfering with the actual state of property and occupation; but though they received favourable promises, they did not ultimately succeed. On the contrary, Charles now granted a patent to Culpepper as governor for life; who, aiming only at gain, was in no haste to take possession of so troubled a country, and went at last only in obedience to an urgent mandate from the king.

The colony was found tolerably quiet, and a general amnesty was proclaimed, with very few exceptions. Penalties were enacted against those who should defame the administration, propagate false news, and maliciously stir up the people against the governor. Limits were set to the popular composition of the assembly, as well as to the frequency and duration of its sittings. An appeal from the courts, hitherto allowed to that body, was now vested solely in the crown. After all, the severest suffering arose from the extremely low price still brought

by tobacco; and hence the desperate expedient was imagined, of entirely suspending its cultivation for a year. The assembly passed an act to that effect, which was negatived by the crown; yet so bent were the colonists upon it, that they formed an association to destroy all that was planted within the period. This spirit rose to a sort of rebellion, and was put down only by some severe examples. An act was also passed to promote cohabitation, or the formation of towns, with a view to establish manufactures. This was a premature attempt to force a branch for which the country was by no means ripe; yet the negative on it from England, being inspired probably by monopolizing views, caused great discontent.

Culpepper was avaricious and unpopular. He raised his own allowance to an exorbitant height; he altered the value of the coin; he appeared to dislike the settlement as a residence, making only two short compulsory visits. He enforced also in a grasping manner his proprietary patent. Heavy complaints were sent home, to which Charles, who regretted perhaps having parted with so much power, not unwillingly listened. His commission as governor was subjected to the decision of a jury of Middlesex, who declared it forfeited. Virginia became again a royal colony, and no future ruler held his office except at the pleasure of the crown.

Lord Howard of Effingham, who succeeded, did not render himself more acceptable, being accused of studying profit still more devotedly, and of securing it by the meanest practices. He established a court of chancery with exorbitant fees, and is alleged to have shared the emoluments of this and other departments with his own

clerks. He carried with him very arbitrary instructions against printing, and for the enforcement of the navigation act, which had begun to be relaxed. He terminated, however, an Indian war; the assembly passed some useful laws, and though, from the low price of its staple, wealth did not flow in, the population probably continued to multiply.

James II. continued Lord Effingham, and of course his arbitrary system. Yet his declarations in favour of toleration, though made for the interest of the Catholics, procured some relief to the oppressions endured by the Dissenters. A casual advantage arose from the excessive rigour against the adherents of Monmouth. When Jefferies and Kirke had sated themselves with blood, a number of minor offenders were adjudged to servitude in Virginia for ten years. The courtiers eagerly contended for lots of these exiles, who made a valuable addition to the population; and after the Revolution they received a pardon.

Effingham, apparently disgusted with the discontent of the people, returned to England in 1688, followed by Philip Ludwell; who, as agent for the assembly, brought heavy charges against him. These fell under the cognizance of William III.; but that monarch, being, for the colonies at least, by no means popularly inclined, determined mostly in his favour. He was reinstated, on condition, however, of exercising his functions by a deputy, Colonel Nicholson. The latter was furnished with very arbitrary instructions, and desired even to avoid if possible the calling of an assembly. But, being an intelligent man, he soon saw that this was out of the question, and summoned one with a good grace. Many

of the colonists were gaily disposed, and he instituted races and trials of skill in shooting, wrestling, and other exercises, with which they were highly gratified. Finding also a laudable desire to emerge out of the profound ignorance in which they had been so studiously kept, he provided a royal donative for the foundation of a college named William and Mary. This seminary, the first established in the southern settlements, excited an intense interest, and persons crowded from all the neighbouring colonies to witness its opening. He seconded also for some time their favourite scheme of cohabitation and manufactures, but was obliged to desist by orders from home.

In 1692, the government was conferred on Sir Edward Andros, while Nicholson went as his lieutenant to Maryland. This appointment on the part of William was little expected, the deputy having had in New England the reputation of an oppressive tool of the despotism of James. His arrival accordingly excited the most sinister apprehensions, which were happily disappointed. Being a man of sense and ability, he accommodated himself to changed circumstances, pursued the course of his predecessor with more judgment, and enjoyed still greater popularity. In six years he was recalled, and the colonists again got Nicholson; but a very unfavourable change had taken place in his character. Of a bold and aspiring disposition, he had formed the plan of a general combination of the colonies for mutual defence. A pecuniary contingent was to be paid by each, to be placed at the king's disposal for maintaining troops and erecting forts. This plan obtained the hearty consent of William, and the governor, hoping to be placed at its head,

most zealously promoted it. He was deeply disappointed when the assembly met it by an unqualified rejection. He induced the king to recommend the measure to them, but without effect, and his majesty did not choose to take any stronger course. Nicholson, completely chagrined, took every opportunity of representing the Virginians in an unfavourable light, and recommending an abridgment of their liberties. He described them to the ministers of Anne as imbued with "republican notions and principles, such as ought to be corrected, and lowered in time;" complaining that "those wrong pernicious notions were improving daily, not only in Virginia, but in all her majesty's other governments." In subsequent memorials, he suggested that all the American colonies should be reduced under one viceroy, and a standing army maintained. But though jealous feelings were thus infused, the English ministers were not rash enough to involve themselves in such a scheme; and, in 1704, Nicholson was recalled.

He was succeeded by the Earl of Orkney, who held the office thirty-six years, but merely as a sinecure. He or the ministers, however, were happy in their settlement of deputies. Edward Nott, the first, and still more his successor, Alexander Spotswood, gave the highest satisfaction. The latter not only promoted internal improvement, but undertook an expedition to the westward of the Alleghany. This barrier, after numerous obstacles, was passed, though no settlements were yet attempted. He, however, strongly recommended the formation of a chain of forts along this frontier, to keep in check the encroachments of the French from Canada and Louisiana; but the government were not disposed

to spend large sums in guarding against a danger so little imminent.

Virginia, from this period till the peace of 1763, enjoyed an uninterrupted prosperity, with so few internal vicissitudes that they have escaped the notice of history. She was engaged in military operations against the French and their Indian allies; but as these were common to the whole range of states, we prefer to make them with some other matters the subject of a general chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

SETTLEMENT OF MARYLAND.

ALTHOUGH the colonization of Maryland took place at a later period than that of New England, its relations with Virginia are so close, that these colonies will be best considered in connexion with each other.

The founder of the State of Maryland was Cecil, Lord Baltimore. His father had been secretary of state to James I., and one of the original associates of the Virginia Company. He visited that colony in the year 1622, to ascertain if some portion of its rich territory could not be rendered subservient to the interests of his family, and at the same time afford a desirable retreat for persecuted professors of the Romish faith, to which he had become a convert. He subsequently prevailed on Charles I. to bestow on him the desired grant, and had made considerable preparations for carrying his design into effect, when death put an end to his projects, which were, however, adopted, and zealously prosecuted by his son. On his behalf, the king, in June, 1632, executed the charter which his father had solicited; and conferred on the new colony the title of Maryland, as a tribute of respect to Henrietta Maria, his queen. The new province was declared to be separated from Virginia, to which its territory had belonged, and subject only to the crown of England. Lord Baltimore was created the absolute

proprietary of it, and was empowered, with the assent of the freemen, or their delegates, whom he was required to assemble for that purpose, to make laws for the province, and to administer them. The territory was erected into a palatinate; and the proprietary was invested with all the royal rights of the palace, as fully as any bishop of Durham had ever enjoyed; he was authorized to appoint officers, to repel invasions, and to suppress rebellions; what is still more remarkable, the charter contained no obligation on the proprietary to transmit the acts of assembly for confirmation or disallowance by the king; and it also possessed the peculiarity of being the first example of the dismemberment of a colony, and the creation of a new one within its limits, by the mere act of the crown.

Having obtained so favourable a charter, Lord Baltimore proceeded to carry its provisions into execution. He appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, governor of the new province, and concurred with him in the equipment of vessels, which conveyed a numerous body of emigrants, chiefly Roman Catholics, and many of them gentlemen of rank and fortune. After a circuitous voyage, the governor arrived, accompanied by his brother George, at Point Comfort, in Virginia, in February, 1634. Early in March, he proceeded up the Chesapeake Bay to the northward, and entered the Potomac, up which he sailed twelve leagues, and came to an anchor under an island, which he named St. Clement. Here he erected a cross, and took possession "in the name of the Saviour of the world, and of the King of England." Thence he went fifteen leagues higher to the Indian town of Potomac on the Virginia side of the river.

now called New Marlborough, where he was received in a friendly manner. Arriving at the town of Piscatawa, on the Maryland side, he found Henry Fleet, an Englishman, who had resided several years among the natives, and was held by them in great esteem, who was very serviceable as an interpreter. An interview having been procured with the werowance, or prince, Calvert asked him, whether he was willing that a settlement should be made in his country; he replied, "I will not bid you go, neither will I bid you stay; but you may use your own discretion." Having convinced the natives that his designs were honourable and pacific, the governor now sought a suitable station for commencing his colony. He visited a creek on the northern side of the Potomac, on which he found an Indian village. Here he acquainted the prince of the place with his intentions, and by presents to him and his principal men, conciliated his friendship so much as to obtain permission to reside in one part of the town until next harvest, when it was agreed that the natives should entirely quit the place. Both parties entered into a contract to live together in a friendly manner. After Calvert had given a satisfactory consideration, the Indians readily yielded a number of their houses, and retired to the others. Thus, on the 27th of March, 1634, the governor took peaceable possession of the country of Maryland, and gave to the town the name of St. Mary and to the creek, on which it was situated, the name of St. George. The desire of rendering justice to the natives by giving them a reasonable compensation for their lands, is a trait in the character of the first planters, which will always do honour to their memory.

Circumstances favoured the rapid population of the colony. The charter granted more ample privileges than had ever been conceded to a subject; the country was inviting; the natives were friendly; from the south, churchmen drove puritans; from the north, puritans drove churchmen, into her borders, where all were freely received, protected, and cherished. The colony was soon able to export Indian corn and other products to New England and Newfoundland, for which they received in return dried fish and other provisions. The Indians also killed many deer and turkeys, which they sold to the English for knives, beads, and other small articles of traffic, while cattle, swine, and poultry, were procured from Virginia.

During the first years of the colony, when the free-men were few in number, each attended the general assembly in person, or authorized some other freeman to vote in his stead. The increase of population, however, soon rendered it necessary to adopt a different mode of legislation; and in 1639 an act was passed, constituting a house of assembly, to be composed of such as should be chosen by the people, of such as should be summoned or appointed by the proprietor, and of the governor and secretary. These were to meet together, and the laws which they should frame were to possess the same validity as though the proprietors and all the people had concurred in enacting them. The colony was not entirely free from internal troubles. In the year 1631, Charles I. had granted a license to one William Cleyborne, who was described as one of the council, and secretary of state of Virginia, "to traffic in those parts of America for which there is already no

patent granted for sole trade." Cleyborne and his associates, with the spirit of exclusion so common in those days, attempted to monopolize the trade of the Chesapeake; and with this intent, they appear to have planted a small colony on the Isle of Kent, which commands both the shores of Chesapeake Bay, where it washes Annapolis, the present capital of Maryland. The Virginians boasted that the colonists of Kent sent burgesses to their assembly, and were subjected to their jurisdiction before Maryland had a name, and the province found abundant cause to regret, that a people had taken up their abode within its limits, who paid unwilling obedience to its laws. Cleyborne continued to claim Kent Island, and to refuse submission to the jurisdiction of Maryland. Lord Baltimore, however, gave orders, in September, 1634, to seize the refractory trader, if he did not submit to his government; judging wisely, that subordination would cease, should an independent jurisdiction be established in the centre of his province. Still continuing to resist, and to excite rebellion in others, he was at length indicted, and found guilty of murder, piracy, and sedition; but he fled from justice, and his estate was seized, as forfeited to those laws which he had formerly contemned as invalid. The afflictions of this period are indicated by a statute of the assembly, which recites, "that the province had been wasted by a miserable dissension and unhappy war, which had been closed by the joyful restitution of a blessed peace." To promote the restoration of tranquillity and mutual confidence, an act of general pardon and oblivion was passed, from the benefits of which only a few leading characters were excepted; and all actions were dis-

charged for wrongs that might have been perpetrated during the revolt. "By a singular reverse of fortune," says Chalmers, "Cleyborne lived to command in the province whence he was now driven with infamy, to feel the pangs of old age when accompanied with poverty, to apply to a prince for support, whose beneficence was not even extended to those who had suffered for his family and himself."

It is a fact, which reflects the greatest credit on these early colonists, that fifteen years after they first landed, the general assembly of the people passed an act, entitled, "An Act concerning Religion," in which the great principles of religious toleration and liberty are so extensively recognized. The following is an extract from the act itself: "Whereas the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it hath been practised; and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and unity among the inhabitants, no person or persons whatsoever, within this province, or the islands, ports, harbours, creeks, or havens thereunto belonging, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for, or in respect of, his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof, within this province, or the islands thereunto belonging, nor any way compelled to the belief or exercise of any religion against his or her consent, so that they be not unfaithful to the lord proprietary, or molest or conspire against the civil government established, or to be established, in this province, under him or his heirs." This law was

passed by an assembly composed entirely of Roman Catholics, and is the more remarkable, as being the first legislative act which is recorded to have been passed by any government, administered by members of the Romish hierarchy, in favour of the unlimited toleration of all Christian sects.

In 1650, the legislative body was divided into two branches—the delegates chosen by the people constituting the lower house, and the persons summoned by the proprietors, the upper house. An act of recognition of the undoubted right of Lord Baltimore to the proprietaryship of the province was passed in the same session. The assembly not only submitted to his authority, but obliged its constituents and their posterity for ever to defend him and his heirs in his royal rights, and besought him to accept this act as a testimony of gratitude for the manifold benefits which the colony had derived from him. In prosecution of its patriotic labours, the assembly also proceeded to enact laws for the relief of the poor, and the encouragement of agriculture and commerce; and a short season of prosperity preceded the calamities which the province was again to experience from the evil genius of Cleyborne, and the interposition of the parent state.

After the parliament had triumphed over the king, they appointed commissioners for reducing and governing the colonies within the bay of Chesapeake, among whom was Cleyborne. The proprietor of Maryland, on acknowledging the authority of the parliament, was permitted to retain his station, but was unable to preserve tranquillity. The distractions of England, finding their way into the colony, occasioned a civil war, which

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ended in the discomfiture of the Roman Catholics. The next assembly, which was entirely under the influence of Cleyborne and the victorious party, ordained that persons professing the Catholic religion should not be considered within the protection of the laws; the Catholics being thus ungratefully persecuted by men whom they had taken to their bosom, and in a colony which they had founded. Laws unfavourable to the Quakers were also enacted; and here, as in England, the upper house was voted to be useless. At the restoration, in 1660, Philip Calvert was appointed governor, and the ancient order of things was restored. The recent usurpations were passed over in silence, and buried in a generous oblivion; toleration was re-established, and the inhabitants of Maryland once more experienced the blessings of a mild government and internal tranquillity. General subordination had manifestly the effect of quickening the march of prosperity; industry, amply recompensed, was animated and cheerful, and closely connected with independence and improvement of condition was general respect. To such a degree did this arise, that it became common for ruined tradesmen and indigent labourers in England to repair to this colony for retrieving or improving their condition. No emigrants were more successful in bettering their condition than female servants; they invariably obtained an immediate and respectable establishment in marriage.

In 1676, Cecil, Lord Baltimore, the father of the province, died. For more than forty years he had directed its affairs as proprietor, and displayed in all his conduct a benevolent heart and enlightened understanding. Although he lived in an age of bigotry, he was

liberal in his opinions; and for all his exertions to contribute to the happiness of his fellow-beings, he desired no reward but their gratitude. This reward he received. The records of the Maryland assembly contain frequent memorials of the respect and affection of the people. He was succeeded, as proprietor, by his eldest son, Charles, who had for several years been governor of the colony, and displayed the same amiable qualities which had rendered his father respected and beloved. The closing years of the proprietary government were embittered by a circumstance similar to that which the institution of the colony of Maryland had inflicted on Virginia. The grant which had been made by Charles II. to the celebrated Penn included the territory of Delaware, which Lord Baltimore had always considered within the limits of his patent. On the arrival of William Penn in America, a meeting took place between him and Lord Baltimore, in the hope of effecting an amicable adjustment of the boundaries of their respective territorial grants. But the pretensions of the parties were so completely incompatible that it proved impossible at the time to adjust them in a manner satisfactory to both. Penn ultimately complained to the English government, and, by his interest at court, procured it to be adjudged that the debateable territory should be divided into two equal parts, one of which was appropriated to himself, and the other to Lord Baltimore. This adjudication was carried into effect; and the territory which now composes the state of Delaware was thus dismembered from the provincial limits of Maryland.

In the year following the revolution of 1688, the repose of Maryland was again disturbed. A rumour was

artfully circulated, that the Catholics had leagued with the Indians to destroy all the Protestants in the province. An armed association was immediately formed, for the defence of the Protestant religion, and for asserting the rights of King William and Queen Mary. The magistrates attempted to oppose this association by force ; but, meeting with few supporters, they were compelled to abdicate the government. King William directed those who had assumed the supreme authority to exercise it in his name ; and for twenty-seven years the crown retained the entire control of the province. In 1716, the proprietor was restored to his rights ; and he and his descendants continued to enjoy them until the commencement of the revolution. The people then assumed the government, adopted a constitution, and refused to admit the claims of the representatives of Lord Baltimore either to jurisdiction or to property.

CHAPTER V.

SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.

WE have already observed that in the grand scheme concerted in 1606 for colonizing Virginia, one company had been authorized to form establishments on the southern, another on the northern part of the extensive coast which bears that name. The first was undertaken by certain merchants in London, the other by capitalists in the western ports. The former, whose fortune we have already traced, undertook their task with more ample means, carried it on with greater perseverance, and, though amid many disasters, rose sooner into importance. The latter, however, was not destitute of powerful supporters, among whom were Sir John Popham, at that time chief justice of England, and Sir Ferdinand Gorges, governor of Plymouth. In August, 1606, they had fitted out a vessel of fifty-five tons, with a crew of twenty-nine Englishmen and two savages. Captain Chalons, the commander, took the circuitous route of the West Indies, and having been involved, near the coast of Hispaniola, in thick fogs and tempestuous weather, found himself surrounded by eight vessels manned by Spaniards. They rushed on board with drawn swords, and made prisoners of the crew, who were distributed among the different ships and conveyed to Europe. The captain and pilot, with some others, were brought to



LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS.

Seville, thrown into prison, and treated with the utmost indignity. Robert Cooke, one of their number, having died, his body was dragged naked through the prison, amid cries of "Behold the Lutheran;" and Humfries, the boatswain, was assassinated. Through the humane intercession, however, of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, they obtained a mitigation of their sufferings, and, by following the advice of a respectable ecclesiastic, had even the satisfaction of getting the murderer hanged. At length they escaped to England.

Another party, sent out with supplies to Chalons, were much dismayed upon not finding any trace of him or his companions. They were pleased, however, with the aspect of the country, and carried home such a favourable report as incited the adventurers to fresh efforts. In 1607, they sent two ships with one hundred men, conducted by Captain Popham, a son of the chief-justice, and a brother of Sir John Gilbert. The crews, having landed near the mouth of the Kennebec, built a fort named St. George; but they found the winter intensely cold; a quantity of their stores was consumed by fire; and Popham, their principal leader, died. Next season a vessel arrived with fresh supplies, but conveying tidings of the death of the chief justice, and also of Sir John Gilbert, which induced their president, who was his heir, to go to England and take possession of the estate. All these inauspicious circumstances, so discouraged the settlers, that, like some of the more southern colonists, they determined in a body to return home, thus rendering all the exertions of the company completely abortive.

This unwelcome arrival proved, it is said, "a won-

derful discouragement" to such undertakings, which there was long "no more speech" of renewing. Sir Francis Popham, however, who succeeded as governor, sent out vessels on his own account to fish and carry on the fur trade. His adventure being found profitable, was followed by others ; and, at least one crew wintered on the coast. A powerful impulse was given to colonization, when Smith, unable now to find employment in Virginia, directed all the powers of his intelligent mind into this new sphere. In 1614, he prevailed upon four merchants of London to furnish him with two traders and also fifteen men to form a settlement. No mention is made of any connection with the Plymouth company, who, indeed, when they effected so little themselves, could not, with a good grace, have opposed the attempt. The whale fishery, apparently the leading object, failed ; whence the plan of settlement seems to have been relinquished. By boat fishing, however, and by collecting martin, beaver, and otter skins, a value of £1500 was realized, which was considered a very favourable return. While the others, too, were thus employed, Smith contrived to make a survey of the coast, from the Penobscot to Cape Cod, and gave to the country the memorable name of New England, which it has ever since retained. This voyage, however, was followed by a most distressing event. Thomas Hunt, left in charge of one of the ships, inveigled on board thirty of the natives, whom he carried to Malaga, and sold as slaves. The consequence was that Captain Hobson, who arrived a short time after, without any knowledge of the crime, was killed, with several of his crew ; and

much pains were necessary to assuage the resentment thus kindled.

Meantime, the arrival of Smith in England produced so favourable an impression, that the Virginia and Plymouth companies vied with each other in soliciting his services. The former offered four ships, which he declined in consequence of a previous engagement to their western rivals; a circumstance he afterwards found reason to repent, since, nothing being in readiness, he was involved in a labyrinth of trouble before he could procure two vessels, with only fifteen settlers. Upon going to sea, a violent storm, which broke his masts, obliged him to return. Being provided with a smaller vessel, he again set sail, but when, in the vicinity of the Azores, he was captured by French pirates, who carried him to Rochelle, whence he contrived to escape. A great part of his property, however, was lost in this voyage.

The company did not altogether discontinue their exertions; and Captain Darmer, who sailed with Smith in 1615, reached the coast and made a good fishery. During the succeeding years, he and Rocraft displayed very considerable activity. Darmer made a voyage along the coast to Virginia, proving, for the first time, its continuity with New England; and meeting some Dutchmen, who had opened a trade on the Hudson, he gave on the whole a highly favourable account of the country. An attempt was made to conciliate the natives by means of Squanto, called sometimes Tisquantum, one of Hunt's victims, who had found his way to Newfoundland, whence he was sent home by Mason, the governor. Much distress was, however, experienced, both from their enmity and from the violence and insubordination

of the English sailors. Rocraft, after suppressing a violent mutiny, was killed in a conflict with one of his own people; while Darmer, severely wounded by a band of savages, was constrained to retire into Virginia, where he soon afterwards died. These disasters checked greatly the progress of the few scattered settlements. Smith, meantime, after his return, strained every nerve to inspire his countrymen with colonizing zeal. He went from city to city, applied to various individuals who had shown an interest in the subject, and circulated, at great expense, seven thousand copies of books and maps. He complains, that he might as well have attempted to "cut rocks with oyster shells." Besides this prevailing apathy, he was objected to as an unfortunate man; for all his undertakings had failed, and a contrast was drawn between the poor state of Virginia under him, and its present prosperous condition, when the planters were living in ease and luxury on the juice of tobacco. Though he could show that this arose from causes which he could not control, he found it difficult to shake the influence of fortune over men's minds. At length the Plymouth company began to make a movement; but it was altogether in a false direction. Their patent had hitherto been so limited, that they had not been able to prevent the rivalry of the London merchants, and even of the Virginia association. They conceived that if they could obtain the same exclusive privileges which had been lavished on the latter, they might be equally prosperous. By continued solicitation during two years, and by receiving into their number some influential individuals, they gained from James I., on the 3d of November, 1620, a most ample charter for all the country between

the fortieth and forty-eighth degree of north latitude, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, comprising about a million of square miles, and including New York and New England, with all the northern States of the Union. Within these vast limits they obtained the exclusive right not only of settlement but of trade and fishery. No stipulation, indeed, was ever made for political privileges to the settlers; the whole region was to be under the absolute sway of the Duke of Lennox, the Marquises of Buckingham and Hamilton, and other individuals, amounting in all to forty-two.

These exorbitant privileges were of very little avail to those by whom they had been so unfairly procured. They struck at the interests of a large body of merchants, who, having embarked in the fishery, were supported by the House of Commons, then fast rising into importance. Sir Edwin Sandys, a popular leader, brought in a bill to allow free fishing and the cutting of timber on all this coast, which, notwithstanding the opposition of Sir George Calvert and other members, was carried; and though James prevented it from passing into a law, this adverse vote rendered it very difficult to enforce such exorbitant claims.

All the efforts both of government and of powerful companies to people this district had thus proved nearly abortive, when, from an unexpected quarter, a tide of population poured into it, which rendered New England the most prosperous of all the colonies on the American continent.

Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, however, there was formed in a northern county of England a congregation of separatists, under two respectable clergymen

Robinson and Brewster. During a certain interval they escaped notice ; but King James, who soon began to follow his predecessor's steps, took such measures as convinced them that it would be vain to attempt the exercise of their profession at home. In looking for an asylum, they fixed upon Holland, the first country where toleration was publicly sanctioned by law ; and thither they made their escape amid much difficulty and hardship, their families being for some time detained behind them. Having reached that foreign land, they found the protection denied at home, and remained eleven years unmolested, and even respected. But they never became fully naturalized ; their original occupation of agriculture was more congenial to their taste than the mechanical arts, by which alone they could earn a subsistence among the Dutch. They turned their eyes, therefore, to a transatlantic region, where they would not merely enjoy toleration, but might form a society founded on their favourite plan of church-government.

Animated by these views, the exiles applied to the Virginia company, then under the management of Sandys, Southampton, and other liberal members, who, zealously espousing their cause, obtained, though not without difficulty, from King James a promise to wink at their heresy, provided they remained otherwise tranquil. Several London merchants agreed to advance the necessary sums, to be repaid out of the proceeds of their industry ; but the terms were very high, and till the liquidation of the debt the produce of their labour was to be thrown into a common stock for the benefit of the creditors ; hence their exertions were not stimulated by the salutary impulse of personal interest.

With the means thus procured, the emigrants purchased one vessel of sixty, and hired another of one hundred and eighty tons; the former of which sailed to Delft-haven to take on board the brethren. The two joined at Southampton, and thence proceeded on their great western voyage; but before they reached the Land's End, the master of the smaller one, declaring her to be too leaky to cross the Atlantic, put back to Dartmouth for repairs. After another trial, the captain again pronounced her unfit for the voyage, and made sail for Plymouth. These disasters and alarms, though involving the loss of much precious time, "winnowed their number of the cowardly and the lukewarm;" and they finally set sail in one vessel on the 6th of September, 1620, being in all one hundred and two persons, with the firm determination of braving every hardship. They had a tempestuous voyage, and though their destination was the mouth of the Hudson, they arrived on the 19th of November, in view of a great promontory, which proved to be Cape Cod. They sailed on toward their destination, but being driven back by contrary winds, determined to go ashore. Previously, however, they sought to obviate the danger of discord by a mutual agreement, in the name of God, to combine into a body politic; framing and duly observing laws for the general good.

They landed repeatedly, and finally, on the 19th of December, reached a harbour that had been strongly recommended. The weather was dark and stormy, and the entrance encumbered with rocks; yet they fortunately run in on a fine sandy beach. This being Saturday, they did not land till Monday, the 21st, when

they were highly pleased, finding a commodious harbour, a land well wooded, vines, cherries, and berries, lately planted, and a hill cleared for corn. There was no navigable stream, but several brooks of fresh water fell into the sea. They advanced seven or eight miles into the country without seeing any Indians.

They now finally fixed upon this spot, to which, on the 29th, the vessel was brought round; and they named it New Plymouth, to commemorate hospitalities received at home. The erection of houses, however, was a hard task, amid severe weather, short days, and very frequent storms. By distributing the unmarried among the several families, they reduced the buildings wanted to nineteen, and by the 20th of January had completed one, twenty feet square, for public meetings. The exposure, however, and wading through the water in such inclement weather, brought on severe illnesses, to which Carver, a governor highly esteemed, and many others, fell victims. But on the 3d of March, a south wind sprung up; the weather became mild; the birds sung in the woods most pleasantly; the invalids quickly recovered; and many of them lived to a good old age.

In the autumn of 1621, the merchants sent out another vessel with thirty-five settlers; but misled by "prodigal reports of plenty," sent home by certain colonists, they supplied no provisions; nay, the crew required to be provided with a portion for their return voyage. The consequence was, that in the course of the winter, the colonists were reduced to a half allowance of corn daily, then to five kernels a-piece; lastly to entire want. Equally destitute of live-stock, they depended wholly on wild animals. Till May, 1622, fowls abounded; but

there remained then merely fish, which they had not nets to catch; and it was only by feeding on the shell species, collected among the rocks, that they were preserved from absolute starvation.

The emigrants had seen the natives only in the short hostile encounter, but afterwards learned that a severe pestilence had thinned their numbers. The crime of Hunt also had filled the country with horror and dread of the strangers. To their surprise, on the 16th of March, 1621, a savage almost naked, in the most confident manner, walked through the village, and addressed those he met in broken English. They crowded round him, and on their eager inquiry, learned that his name was Samoset; that he belonged to the Wampanoags, a somewhat distant tribe; and that their immediate neighbours were the people of Massassoit and the Nausites, the latter of whom had been the assailants in the late conflict. They treated him liberally with strong waters and food, presented him with a great-coat, knife, and ornaments, and begged him to return with some of his countrymen. After a brief absence, he reappeared with "five proper men," presenting the usual grotesque attire and ferocious aspect. They all heartily danced and sung. A few days later, he brought Squanto, whose restoration to his native country, as we have already narrated, had rendered him extremely friendly to our name. Being ready to act as interpreter and mediator, he opened a communication with Massassoit; and on the 22d of March, that great sagamore, with Quadequina, his brother, and sixty men, was announced as in the vicinity. Difficulties were felt as to the meeting from want of mutual confidence; however, Squanto, having brought an invitation to par-

ey, Edward Winslow went with presents, and was kindly received. The governor, then, after obtaining some Indians as hostages, marched out at the head of six musketeers, kissed hands with the great chief, and presented a bottle of strong waters, of which he drank somewhat too copiously. A treaty was concluded, both of abstinence from mutual injury, and protection against others; and it was long faithfully observed.

Meantime Weston, one of the London adventurers, had sent out a settlement consisting of sixty individuals, to a place which they named Weymouth; but they behaved so ill to the Indians, that the latter entered into a general confederacy to cut off all the English. This was revealed by Massassoit to his friends at Plymouth, who succeeded in saving both themselves and their rivals, though the latter were obliged to relinquish their establishment, some returning home, and others joining the first colony.

This last made such progress that, though reduced in the spring of 1621 to fifty or sixty persons, in 1624 it amounted to a hundred and eighty. They were, as Winslow observes, "by God's providence safely seated, housed and fortified." They had escaped those tyrannical governors, and "bestial, yea, diabolical" settlers, who had ruined so many colonies, though he admits that it was vain as yet to hope for profit. The merchants, however, complained most loudly, that they had laid out a large capital without receiving or having any prospect of the slightest return. After much discussion, it was determined that the colonists should now supply themselves with every thing, and for past services should, during nine years, pay £200 annually. Eight adven-

turers, on receiving a monopoly of the trade for six years, undertook to meet this engagement ; so that the settlers were now established in the full property of their lands. In six years more their number had risen to three hundred.

In 1625, Roger Conant, with some mercantile aid, but chiefly inspired by religious zeal, had established a body of settlers near Cape Anne ; their sufferings, however, were so severe, that they determined to return to England. White, however, an eminent minister of Dorchester, entreated him to remain, promising that he should receive a patent, friends, goods, provisions, and every thing he could desire. This zealous clergyman held communication with many persons in his own neighbourhood, in London, and other quarters, particularly Lincolnshire ; who, with zeal for religious purity, united energy of character, and in many cases considerable property. They found no difficulty in purchasing from the Plymouth Company an extensive tract, including all the coast between the rivers Charles and Merrimac, and across to the Pacific Ocean. They even obtained, though not without cost and trouble, a charter from Charles, under the title of "The Company of the Massachusetts Bay." On the delicate topic of religion, the governor was empowered, but not required, to administer the oath of supremacy ; and there was no other mention of the subject.

On the 1st of May 1629, six vessels, having on board about two hundred passengers, including four clergymen, sailed from the Isle of Wight. Smith would evidently have been glad to co-operate ; but difference of religious views seems again to have prevented negotiation. He

describes them "an absolute crew, only of the elect, holding all but such as themselves as reprobate;" and before sailing, all those persons were dismissed whose character was thought to make them unsuitable companions. The seamen were surprised and edified by the new scene which their ships presented,—prayer and exposition of the word two or three times a-day; the Sabbath entirely spent in preaching and catechising; repeated and solemn fasts for the success of the voyage. They arrived on the 24th of June, and found only eight or ten hovels, which, with others scattered along the coast, contained about one hundred settlers. A site, already marked out, had its name changed from Nahumkeik to Salem; while a large party removed to Mishaum, which they called Charlestown.

The colonists suffered severely during the winter under the usual evils of a new settlement, especially in so rigorous a climate. No fewer than eighty died; yet the spirits of the rest continued unbroken, and they transmitted by no means unfavourable reports to England. An extraordinary movement had in fact taken place among those to whom their religious welfare was an object of paramount interest; and their promptitude to remove was greatly increased by an arrangement, according to which the meetings of the Company might be held in New England. The colonists thus carried the charter along with them, and were entirely released from all dependence upon Great Britain. A body of emigrants was formed, much superior to their predecessors in numbers, wealth, education, and intelligence. The principal lay members were, Winthrop, Dudley, and Johnston; the two first of whom were successively

governors, while the other was accompanied by his wife, Lady Arabella, a daughter of the house of Lincoln.

The party thus assembled from various quarters was ready to sail early in the spring of 1630. The expedition consisted of seventeen vessels, and nearly fifteen hundred settlers, who were respectable as well for their intelligence as for their rank in society. They published an account of their motives for removal, taking an affectionate leave of their friends in England, in which they said, "our eyes shall be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, while we are in our poor cottages in the wilderness." They went, however, with little experience in the mysteries of settlement, and without any suspicion of their own ignorance. Smith intimates that he saw clearly the errors which they were committing, but no regard was paid to his warning voice. They had received a false impression, for which Mr. Higgeson must be partly blamed, that they were going to a land already in the enjoyment of plenty; whereas the existing settlers were looking anxiously to them for supplies. Want of food and shelter, and a change in the habits of life, which with many of them had been those of ease and comfort, produced the usual distressing consequences; and in the first month from eighty to one hundred died, among whom Lady Arabella and her husband were particularly lamented. The hopes of religion, the firmness of the leaders, and the high motives by which they were inspired, carried them through this period of heavy trial. They spread themselves over the coast,—a large proportion going to Charlestown. Part of these were attracted by a situation at the very head of the bay, named by the Indians Shawmut, where they

founded a town called first Trimountain, and afterwards Boston, under which name it has become famous.

Emigration during the two next years considerably diminished, probably owing to the reports being less favourable. In the course of that time, however, the industry of the colonists greatly improved their situation. Winthrop even laments that the high wages of labour, amounting to 2s. 6d. a-day, led to idleness and dissipation. These accounts were transmitted to England, where the puritan spirit was gaining new strength, while Charles and Laud were using additional efforts to suppress it; hence the emigration of 1633 became highly important, including several distinguished clergymen. The chief of these was Mr. Cotton of Boston, in Lincolnshire, the most esteemed of all the puritan ministers.

In 1634, a fleet of twenty sail carried out numerous colonists, among whom was Sir Henry Vane, who became afterwards one of the most distinguished characters of the age. As population increased, the range of settlement was extended; and, in 1636, a detachment proceeded to the river of Connecticut to occupy a station for some time projected. In 1637, a large squadron was in preparation, when the court took the alarm. The nation seemed about to be drained of its people, and England as it were to be moving across the Atlantic. The well known and unwelcome cause rendered it only wonderful that so much indulgence had hitherto been shown. A proclamation was now issued against "the disorderly transporting of his majesty's subjects to America," and the lord treasurer was directed to stay the vessels now in the Thames, and cause the passengers and goods to be landed. The discontent at this measure

was extreme ; loud complaints were made by the puritans that they were neither allowed to live in nor to depart out of the kingdom. By special permission, in fact, or even without it, most of them reached the coast of New England.

The people, thus established on the shores of New England, were of a peculiar, and, in many respects, valuable character. They regarded their religious welfare as the object in life to which every other ought to be considered secondary. Their desire was, that the Scriptures should be the basis on which the whole framework of their society should rest. The maintenance of their rigid principles, in the face of a browbeating opposition, induced a somewhat stern temper, not quite in unison with the mild spirit of the gospel. But their anxiety to regulate their life by its pure precepts, the fixed and persevering character which these high motives gave to their exertions, were peculiarly valuable in a situation where there was so much both to be done and to be suffered.

In pursuance of these principles, the right of citizenship was confined to church members. To this privilege the candidate was admitted by the minister and lay elders, who required not only a suitable profession, but such a disclosure of his experience as might enable them to judge of his spiritual state.

The emigrants formed a platform of doctrine and discipline, to which all were required to conform. This was carried so far, that a party, who insisted upon still maintaining the rites of their original church, were obliged to return to England. A new code of laws was established, rather upon Scriptural precedents than upon civil statute.

Offences against property were dealt with more mildly than till very lately in any European country ; the guilty person being only sentenced to ample restitution, or, in extreme cases, to be sold into slavery. But blasphemy, reviling of religion and worship, contemptuous profanation of the Lord's day, and, finally, the breach of the marriage vow, were declared capital. No severity could prevent the extensive prevalence of such disorders ; yet such was the awe over the public mind, that the discovery was usually made by the offender confessing and surrendering himself to justice. Winthrop even mentions a married woman who had abandoned herself to extreme misconduct, deriding the silly example of those who became informers against themselves, yet who ultimately took the same course.

In regard to political liberty, the colonists equally went beyond what was intended or expected. By the original charter, the whole power, legislative and executive, was vested in a governor, deputy-governor, and thirteen assistants, to be chosen by the members or freemen, not of the colony, but of the company. These, at least four times a year, were to meet and decide on important concerns. To the first emigrants the court graciously allowed the choice of two assistants ; in other respects, they had not a vestige of political privilege. This arbitrary government was, by the simple transference of the sittings of the company to America, converted into an almost pure democracy. Its freemen were then held to be the entire body of the settlers, limited only by the spiritual qualification ; they elected all the executive officers, and exercised the supreme power. As their assembly in a body, however, was inconvenient, a meeting of

two deputies from each township was arranged to assist in the processes of legislation. Thus New England was formed at once into a representative republic. The laws, however, still displayed a considerably aristocratic tendency, recommending, for example, that the magistrates should be chosen "out of the rank of noblemen and gentlemen, the best that God shall send into this country." They even enact the punishment of death for reviling of the governor and council, and condemn to slavery for certain offences.

The first great schism which rent the colony was raised by Roger Williams, a young divine, who went out in the year 1631, and soon becoming highly popular, was chosen minister of Salem. Considerable learning, an ardent eloquence, and a temper peculiarly amiable, or, as Winslow expresses it, "a lovely carriage," rendered him a general favourite. For some time he was equally beloved by clergy and people; but he soon began to adopt peculiar notions, which he gradually extended, till at last he withdrew from the communion of all the churches both in England and America, denouncing them as quite unscriptural.

The ministers and rulers of the colony are described as cherishing a strong personal attachment to Williams, and feeling much grief, when every arrival from Salem brought accounts of some new flight he had taken. He began by proclaiming that King James had publicly told a solemn lie when he named the English as the first discoverers of the coast. Although this was considered a speaking evil of dignities, yet being only a speculative and somewhat doubtful question, it was passed over. He then proclaimed that the English had no right

whatever to the lands occupied ; but this opinion, too founded on equitable principles, was, on proper explanation, at least excused. He denounced, and even raised a tumult on the subject of the red cross in the banner ; this also was compromised. But when he proclaimed all the churches in the colony as antichristian, and excommunicated such of his parishioners as held any intercourse with them, the ire of the ministers and rulers was kindled. They seem, indeed, to have had sufficient ground to provide another pastor for the people of Salem, from whom all spiritual ministrations were now withheld. Not, however, content with this step, they forthwith convened a general court, and, by no very large majority, passed a sentence of banishment. Apprehensions were entertained arising from the attachment of the people of Salem to him ; but, on the subject being represented to them, they acquiesced without a dissentient voice. As the rigour of winter had set in, they determined, at first, so far to mitigate his doom as to allow him to remain till spring. Information being received, however, that he continued actively, and with considerable success, to disseminate his opinions, the somewhat harsh resolution was formed of immediately shipping him for his native land. This might have appeared a milder exile than into the unexplored wilds of America ; but he seems to have formed the ambition of founding a transatlantic colony, modelled entirely according to his own peculiar ideas. Accordingly, on learning that a warrant had been issued against him, he set out with a few followers, to seek shelter in the vast wilderness. His sufferings, in the extremity of winter, without bed, bread, or any shelter but in the hollow of

a tree, may be easily imagined. He describes himself as plucked up by the roots, beset with losses, distractions, miseries, hardships of sea and land, debts and wants." The ministers still kept up a kindly correspondence, to which he answered, expressing his esteem, and bitterly acknowledging, "their sympathy with one so afflicted and persecuted by themselves;" yet wonders why he, whom they named "beloved in Jesus," should be forbidden to breathe the same air, and inhabit the common earth. His first shelter was from the Indian sachems Massassoit and Canonicus, whom he had conciliated by respect for their rights and by kindly behaviour. "The ravens," he says, "fed him in the wilderness." He attempted first a settlement at Seekonk, but finding it to be within the jurisdiction of Plymouth, crossed over to the fine territory of Rhode Island, where he encountered no prior European titles. Here, having proclaimed a general religious liberty, and established a mild rule, he rendered his colony a refuge for all the partisans of the movement; and as these, soon afterwards, became extremely numerous, the population rapidly increased, till Rhode Island acquired an important place among the states of New England.

The Massachusetts rulers, however, had scarcely eradicated from their land the seeds of this heresy, when they were assailed by a more formidable one from a very unexpected quarter. Mrs. Hutchinson, a Lincolnshire lady of good birth and great energy of character, held every Sabbath evening a numerous meeting, where religious topics were discussed at full length; and the conclusion was attained that the teachers and congregations of the colony were alike in total darkness, and must

undergo a radical change before they could hope for divine favour.

The doctrines embraced with such ardent zeal were those termed antinomian, into the details of which we shall not at present enter. According to them, salvation depended wholly upon an unconditional election, which, being made known to its object by a supernatural assurance, rendered reformation of heart and conduct wholly superfluous, even as a test of his spiritual state. It is not, indeed, alleged that this doctrine led its female advocates, at least, to indulge profligate and immoral habits. The clergy, however, though their tenets were decidedly Calvinistic, strenuously inculcated reformation of manners as the test of a sound spiritual state, and viewed with alarm the doctrine of their opponents, as tending to make an entire separation between faith and practice.

The older ministers themselves were somewhat divided. Of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cotton, the two most distinguished and influential, the former inveighed against the new tenets with extreme violence, while the latter treated them with indulgence, and was even regarded as one of their votaries. Mrs. Hutchinson had gone out to enjoy his ministry, and a close intimacy prevailed between them. Henry Vane, too, a youth of splendid talents, heir to a princely fortune, and son to Charles the First's chief secretary, having embraced with zeal puritan principles utterly opposed to those of his father, was induced to prefer the society of Massachusetts to that of England. He took up his residence with Mr. Cotton. The colonists gave him the most ardent welcome, exulting in the preference shown by such a man to their rising settlement; while the objection derived

from his youth was removed by his gravity and deep theological learning. At the next annual election of governor, he was raised to that station at the early age of twenty-four. He was a decided partisan of the movement or independent party, of which in England he became the head, next to Cromwell, and with much greater consistency. The rise of the antinomian tenets disturbed his government. Whether he actually embraced them cannot be fully ascertained; but he continued intimate with their supporters, and, being an advocate of religious freedom, effectually checked any measures for their suppression. The old party, therefore, considered his removal essential to their object, and on the next election brought forward Mr Winthrop. A struggle of extraordinary violence took place; and the antinomians, in their effort to obtain "gospel magistrates," were supported by a large majority in Boston. But the county districts adhered to their old ministers; and they formed the greater number. Lest they should be seduced or intimidated by the citizens, it was carried, though not without difficulty, that the election should be made at Cambridge. It went decidedly in favour of Winthrop; and Vane soon after returned to England.

The party again established in power lost no time in taking measures to suppress the reigning schism. After various proceedings in the matter, Mrs. Hutchinson and Mr. Wheelwright, were banished from the colony.

Some years subsequently, after a good deal of negotiation, an important arrangement was made. A union or rather confederacy was formed by the four colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, New Haven, and Con-

necticut, with the view of protecting themselves against the Dutch and French colonists, and more especially against the Indians. The executive body consisted of two commissioners from each colony, whose only qualification was church membership. They had no right to interfere in the internal jurisdiction of any of the states; they could only provide for the general defence, declare war, order levies of troops, and conclude peace. They had even no power to enforce their decrees; they could merely intimate them to the confederated bodies, with whom it rested to carry them into execution. As the league could consist only of orthodox churches, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Maine were excluded. Williams, considering his situation to be thereby rendered precarious, made two visits to England, and, through the influence of Vane, obtained a full charter for his little colony.

Massachusetts was about this time agitated by a contest between a democratic party and the magistrates, who were alleged, notwithstanding the forms of election, to engross almost the whole administration. The former, who for a time gained a majority, exercised their power with little discretion. Riots were excited, and an impeachment was advanced against Winthrop the governor, now become the object of general esteem. A reaction was thus produced. That gentleman was triumphantly acquitted, and continued to be re-elected annually during his life; and though some concessions were granted to the radical party, the general tenor of government went on nearly as before.

When the Quakers were sent to different quarters of the world, it was natural that America should be in-

cluded. The New England rulers, having heard of their proceedings with horror, and knowing the inflammable character of their own congregations, prepared to meet them with the most rigorous exclusion, and certainly without regard either to the forms or substance of law. In July, 1656, when Mary Fisher and Anne Austin arrived from Barbadoes, an officer was instantly sent on board, who conveyed them to prison, and seized all their books and papers, some of which were burned by the common executioner. They were denied pen, ink, paper, and candle, and a window which opened to the street was boarded up. After some weeks' confinement, the captain who brought them was obliged to take them away at his own expense, and give bond in £100 to land them in Europe. Mary was soon after honoured by a message to the Grand Turk, from whom she met a far different reception. This was followed by other visits from Quakers, who were banished and some of them put to death.

These proceedings raised a general clamour, and many persons transmitted to England representations against them. Charles II., who did not want humanity, wrote to Endicott, the governor, ordering that all capital punishments on this ground should be stopped, and the accused sent home to be tried. The colonists, though not recognizing the king's power to issue such mandates, did not choose to disobey. They contrived, however, to inflict minor penalties and indignities, throwing the enthusiasts into prison, and whipping them out of the district. A fresh appeal made to Charles upon these subjects did not meet with any regard; but the representations of eminent ministers of their own persuasion, as

well as the death of Wilson, Endicott, and Norton, who were succeeded by men breathing a more reasonable spirit, gradually induced a corresponding treatment. Quakerism, as already hinted, may be considered the extreme limit of the ultra protestant movement. No other sect passed beyond it; on the contrary, the spirit of the age gradually turned itself to the exercise of reason, and the employment of learning upon religious subjects, even to the verge of indifference. The Quakers and Baptists themselves assumed a more sober character, renounced their extravagant pretensions, and, retaining a tempered zeal, became useful citizens and active philanthropists.

The people of Massachusetts had now a hard contest to maintain for their political existence. Having been forgotten during the civil wars, having evaded the claims of supremacy made by the long parliament, having received favour from Cromwell, they had acted almost completely as an independent republic. They were exceedingly anxious to continue so, and hence by no means shared the national joy at the Restoration. All their sympathies were on the other side. Whalley and Goffe, obliged to flee from England as accessary to the death of Charles I., were kindly received; and even after it was no longer possible to shelter them, their escape into the back settlements was favoured. The unwelcome intelligence was met, as long as possible, with an obstinate incredulity. When, at length, doubt could be no longer pretended, they drew up an address to the new monarch, which has even been reproached with sycophancy; yet they are silent on the fate of his father, the long parliament, and Cromwell; they do not even positively express

joy at the Restoration, but simply allude to it as the "day wherein you happily say, you now know that you are again king over your British Israel."

The court and ministry of England, with Clarendon at their head, were disposed to treat the colony well, but by no means to exempt them from the obligations of subjects. Complaints, meanwhile, poured in from Episcopalians, Quakers, and Anabaptists, as also from Gorges and Mason, respecting New Hampshire. Commissioners, therefore, being sent out to direct an expedition against New York, were instructed, also, to hear and determine complaints in causes military, civil, and criminal, within New England, and to proceed in all things for settling the peace of the country. This intelligence was received nearly as if it had been that of a foreign invasion. A fast was proclaimed; the patent was placed in trusty hands, and every possible precaution was taken to prevent troops from landing. When the expedition arrived, the general court was not sitting, on which ground the council evaded giving any immediate answer, and as the squadron soon sailed for New York, a respite was obtained.

That assembly being called without delay, took into serious consideration the present state of affairs. Soon after the Restoration they had prepared a declaration, claiming under the charter the appointment of the governor and subordinate officers, and, indeed, the whole executive and legislative powers. Their allegiance was said to consist in upholding that colony as of right belonging to his majesty, and in "preserving his person and dominions." They now determined "to bear true allegiance to his majesty, and to adhere to a patent so

dearly obtained, and so long enjoyed by undoubted right." Ready, however, to testify their loyalty in any righteous way, they made active preparations to levy two hundred men for the New York expedition, though, from its speedy success, their services were not wanted. The court, nevertheless, drew up a petition to the king, claiming the right of self-government as a royal donation under the great seal, "the greatest security that may be had in human affairs." They represented the commission as involving a demand "to yield up our liberties, which are far dearer to us than our lives." They concluded:—"Let our government live, our patent live, our magistrates live, our laws and liberties live, our religious enjoyments live, so shall we all yet have farther cause to say from our hearts, let the king live for ever."

After this, the controversy between the colony and the crown was continued, until the king directed proceedings against them by *quo warranto*. All attempts to soften the government were then fruitless. The suit was commenced, and, in Trinity term, 1684, sentence was given, cancelling the charter of Massachusetts.

The colony do not seem to have contemplated any resistance, but awaited, in gloomy silence, the absolute governor who was to be imposed upon them. They were struck with horror by the announcement of Kirke, afterwards noted for his bloody career in the Monmouth rebellion. They were delivered from him, and had a short breathing time in consequence of the death of Charles II. Amid the occupations of a new reign, no step was taken till 1686, when the government was conferred on Dudley, one of their own deputies, odious for having advised submission, yet welcome compared to the other.

He arrived in May, the general court was immediately dissolved, and the administration vested in him as President, and a council named by the crown. His rule was mild, and affairs, on the whole, went on nearly as before. James, however, learned that there was still too much of the old leaven, and formed the design of uniting all the colonies under one government. Sir Edmund Andross arrived in December, 1686, with two companies of troops, instructed to put an end to all popular power, but otherwise to rule with equity. The whole aspect of the colony was then changed. Instead of the sober and pious manners observed by the rulers, a gay, licentious, and profane conduct became at least no bar to the highest offices. An episcopal chapel was opened, and attended by the governor and his officers; assessments were no longer allowed for churches or schools. Toleration, extended to all sects, was an important improvement; yet such was the hostility shown to the reigning one, that an alarm arose lest it should be excluded. The taxes being found insufficient for the increased expenditure, James gave orders that they should be raised to its level. But this "ill mode of raising money without assembly" excited a passive resistance, met by confiscations and fines, which, as they enriched the hungry adherents of the government, soon became the favourite penalty. It was but "seizing and imprisoning the best men in the country, and the greedy officers would hereby have grist to their mill." In vain they appealed to English laws; they were told not to expect these to follow them to the end of the world; when they spoke of their township rights, they were reminded that there was no such thing as a town, and that all their local jurisdic-

tions were swept away. Soon the enormous pretension was advanced that the lands, having all been granted under the patent, were forfeited along with it, and reverted to the king. We suspect there was more of bluster than of actual spoliation; for in none of the cases is it stated that Andros proceeded to the extremity of seizing property. Money being the object, it was intimated that new patents would be granted on paying the fees, which, however, amounted to about a fourth of the value. Some were intimidated into this step; but it was reckoned that there was not funds in the colony to have thus repurchased the whole. In this extremity, Increase Mather, escaping by night and in disguise, reached England, and laid the grievances of the colony before James. All petitions for a representative government were peremptorily rejected; but there appears a minute of council, that the colonists should hold their lands according to their ancient records. But James was now on the eve of his fate. Having disgusted all parties by his rash and tyrannical conduct, he could not withstand the invasion of William, and was obliged to abdicate the throne, and leave room for the revolution which has secured British liberty. As soon as this intelligence reached Massachusetts, the people rose in arms with the most unanimous resolution that ever inspired a people. Sir Edmund Andros and his adherents were imprisoned; the charter was again put in force; a governor, assistant, and deputies were elected. On receiving a letter from William, desiring them to continue the government, in his name, till he should send more particular direction, the two sovereigns were proclaimed at Boston on the 29th of May, 1689.

The king, whose liberality was rather of position than of character, by no means fully answered their expectations. Treby and Somers, the great whig lawyers, reported that the decision against the charter had been valid; and hence the conduct of Andros and his officers legal. William was so far from punishing that governor, that he received him into favour, and appointed him to Virginia. It was even understood that he suspected the loyalty of Massachusetts; and doubts were spread whether he would renew the charter at all. It required, in fact, three years' solicitation by the agents and friends of the colony, generously aided by the queen, before they could obtain one, which, in point of fact, materially abridged their former independence. The king assumed the nomination of the governor, the judges, and the military officers, as well as a veto within three years on their acts, and a negative on the council named by them. Though by no means fully satisfied, they thought it best, under all the circumstances of the case, to make no complaint. In truth, they had obtained privileges still more ample than those of any other British subjects.

Having brought the affairs of the colonists to this satisfactory point, we must look back to some transactions which have been reserved for the purpose of giving a connected narrative; the most important being their relations with the Indian tribes. These were not so satisfactory as the character of the settlers might have led us to hope, especially as compared with the Quakers in Pennsylvania. Almost from the first establishment of Connecticut, mutual wrongs had created an animosity between the settlers and the Pequods, the most powerful of all the tribes, who sought, by an alliance with

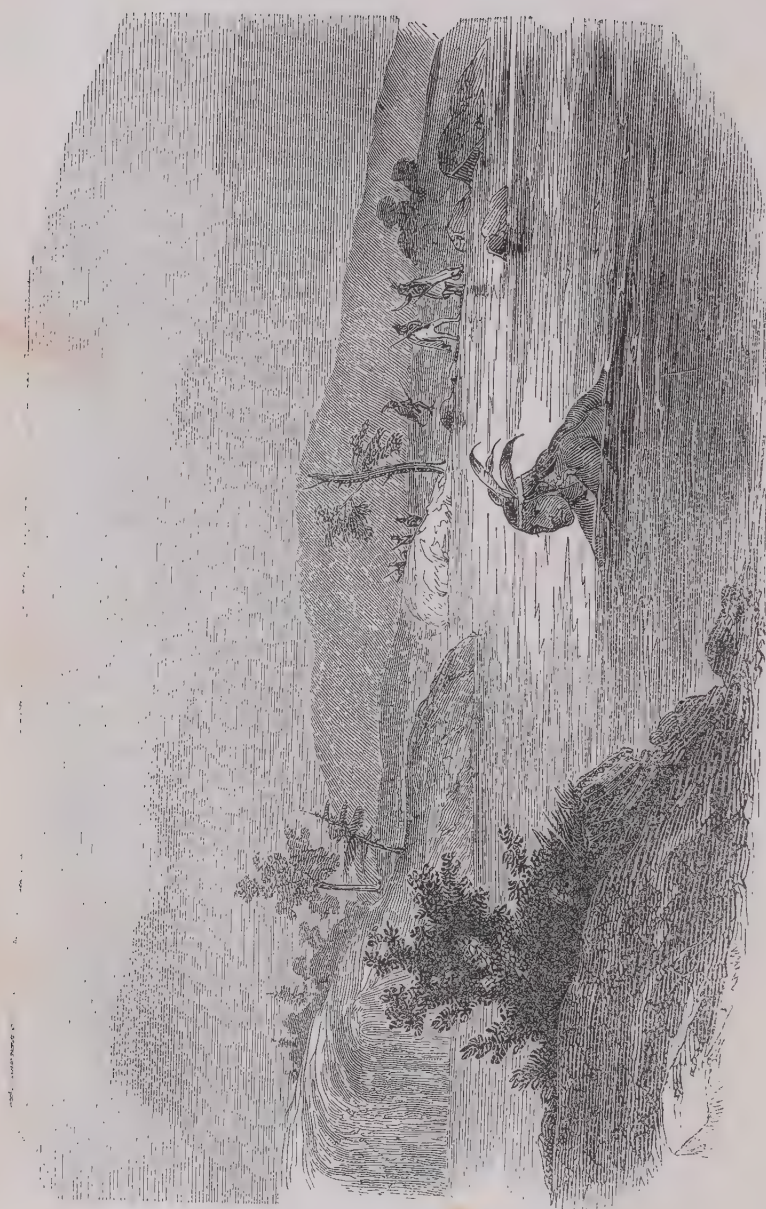
their enemies, the Narragansets, to form a general league against them. This scheme had nearly succeeded, when it was frustrated by the generous exertions of Williams. The English at first were taken by surprise, had several small detachments cut off, and were so closely hemmed in, that they could not go to their work or even to church without a strong escort. Captains Mason and Underhill, however, having come up with seventy men, determined to attack their main fort, surrounded by a palisade of strong trees, but so loosely put together that musketry could penetrate it. The assailants having forced an entrance, set fire to the camp, which was soon reduced to ashes, and above three hundred Indians, men, women, and children, perished in the ruins. The English, whose loss was trifling, pursued the remnant of the tribe from place to place, till the whole were either killed or taken prisoners. Forty who had sought refuge among the Mohawks, were given up by these savages, and the few others who remained alive surrendered in despair.

After the terror inspired by this dreadful overthrow, tranquillity continued nearly forty years. As the colonists multiplied, and the circle of settlement extended, the natives could not but feel for how paltry a price they had sold their once spacious birthright. The enlarged frontier afforded new occasions of dispute; and the Indians, when wronged, instead of appealing to the general court, took vengeance with their own hands. A member of one of the tribes, having given information against certain of his countrymen, fell a victim to their resentment; but the murderers were condemned to death by a jury, of whom half were Indians. In revenge, a small party of English were surprised and slain; and

immediately war broke out along the whole border. The war began with the burning of frontier villages, and the slaughter of detached parties. Beers, one of the bravest captains, was surprised and killed with twenty of his followers. Then came a more "black and fatal day." Lothrop commanded with reputation a body of fine young men, the flower of the county of Essex, who, having piled their arms on wagons, were securely reposing and plucking grapes when the alarm was given. After a desperate resistance they were cut off, only a mere handful escaping. This was followed by the "Springfield misery." That village, the most important on the boundary, was broken into, and every building reduced to ashes, except a large one, which, being slightly fortified, supplied a refuge to the inhabitants. Others soon shared the same fate, in circumstances still more tragical. A boast was at first made that no place with a church had been sacked, but this was soon belied; and the Indians, according to ideas prevalent among savages, considered themselves at war at once with the English and with their gods. In a captured village, their first step was to reduce the meeting-house to ashes; and in torturing their captives, they derided the objects of their worship, for the want of power to save them. After killing the men, they carried away the women and children; and, though the honour of the former was not threatened, they were treated with dreadful cruelty. For example, they were compelled to follow rapid marches, which at this time were frequent, and when found unequal to the effort, were killed at once by blows on the head.

The colonists were doubly perplexed and dismayed

by these disasters. Imbued with a belief, beyond what the usual course of providence justifies, that every calamity was a judgment for some great iniquity, they anxiously sought why "the Lord no longer went forth with their armies." Mather quotes a letter from a leading man in the camp, imputing it to the luxury which wealth had produced among the citizens of Boston,— "their intolerable pride in clothes and hair," and the multiplication of taverns. The neglect of religion and of its ministers was of course blamed; unfortunately, too, the increase of schism and even the slender toleration which had begun to be granted. Days of fasting were appointed; but they were astounded when one of the most solemn was followed by the catastrophe of Lothrop, from which they drew the salutary inference that "praying without reforming would not do." These views did not prevent them from using regular means of warfare, of which the attack of the fortified villages was found the most effective. In the midst of winter, one thousand men marched against the mainhold of the Narragansetts. They rushed to the onset; and after a dreadful conflict it was carried, and reduced to ashes,— the Indians perishing in vast numbers. But the colonists, appalled by their own loss of three hundred killed and wounded, including their six bravest leaders, retreated in great confusion: the enemy, however, were overwhelmed by their disaster, which they never fully recovered. In spring, indeed, they resumed their wonted warfare, but with diminished means and spirit; and in May, another of their principal settlements was destroyed. Driven from their cultivated spots, and finding shelter only in woods and marshes, they suffered increas-



KING PHILIP ESCAPING FROM HIS ENEMIES.

ing hardships and privations. Discontent and disunion were the consequence; several of the tribes began to make their submission, when pardon was granted. Two hundred laid down their arms at Plymouth; and Sagamore John came in with one hundred and eighty, bringing also Matoonas, accused as the author of this dreadful war. In the course of it, had been formed skilful officers, particularly Captain Church, who displayed singular talents in this desultory contest. In August he came up with Philip himself, who was completely routed, and fled almost alone. On a former occasion he had escaped from his enemies, by swimming across a river. Hunted from place to place, he was now traced to the centre of a morass, where he was betrayed and shot by one of his own people. The spirit of the Indians then entirely sunk; and all who survived either emigrated to a distance, or submitted without reserve to the English power.

There was, however, a wider and ruder frontier, behind New Hampshire and Maine, where the settlers carried on a fur-trade with the natives, who complained of fraud and other wrongs, which do not appear imaginary. Though thereby impelled to deeds of violence, they waged no general war, till roused by the example of Massachusetts, when the flame spread along a line of three hundred miles. The colonists, located in a number of small detached stations, suffered severely, and though they gained important advantages, were glad, through Mugg, a ferocious leader, to conclude a treaty granting to them payments of rent, or rather of tribute. A long peace followed, during which those plantations continued greatly to prosper; but in 1687

the Indians, instigated by the French, recommenced hostilities still more violently than ever. Andros, who endeavoured to conciliate this fierce race, treating the prisoners kindly and dismissing them without ransom, was censured by the colonists, who accused him, seemingly without any reason, of supplying them with arms. Failing in his pacific views, he took the field in the depth of winter, but unable to find the enemy, merely erected two forts to cover the frontier. The war, however, continued to rage ten years, and the natives, being aided and in some degree disciplined by the French, gained many advantages. The bravest action was at Wells, where Captain Conyers, with fifteen men, repulsed with great slaughter an attack made by five hundred Indians. Sir William Phipps erected in the heart of their country the strong fort of Penmaquid; and some other triumphs being gained over them, led to a peace in 1693 on satisfactory terms.

One of the worst effects of Philip's war, was the destruction of Mr. Eliot's settlements of Indians, whom his missionary labours had converted. This was followed by the Salem witchcraft delusion, which occasioned the loss of many lives, of this lamentable affair our limits will not permit a detailed narrative.

Massachusetts from this time to the peace of 1763, enjoyed, like the other colonies, a course of prosperity, chequered only by some internal agitations. She took a very active part in the military operations of successive wars waged against the French colonies and their Indian allies. As these, however, were in a great degree common to all the States, we shall reserve them, with other general subjects, for a special chapter.

Lord Bellamont, who went out as governor in 1699, was extremely popular; and it was to the great regret of the people, that after fourteen months he was transferred to New York. They were little pleased at his being succeeded by Dudley, a man of talent, and a native of the State, where he had many friends; but the body of the people remembered that he had advised the resignation of the charter, and subsequently acted as the first absolute ruler under the king. During the whole twelve years of his administration, perpetual contests on petty subjects were waged between the two parties, and he rendered himself doubly odious by the expression of a wish that the colony were again utterly disfranchized.

On the accession of the house of Hanover, the settlers hoped for a more decidedly whig system; and, in fact, after some manœuvring, they obtained for governor, Colonel Shute, who was, at first, very acceptable. But they were soon amazed to learn that a bill had been brought in for the entire abrogation of their charter, and it was only by very strong remonstrances that ministers were induced to withdraw it. Shute, too, though of mild manners, became attached to the high prerogative party, and advanced various claims scarcely warranted by the constitution, particularly that of negating the choice of the speaker of assembly. After many dissensions, the affair was referred to the government at home, by whom all his pretensions were sanctioned, and the local authorities were obliged to consent to an explanatory charter, embracing the views of the governor and other regulations not less offensive. Hence it was in vain that he pressed for a fixed and liberal salary to himself; they

gratified their resentment by diminishing it, without regard to the depreciation of the currency.

In 1727, he was succeeded by Burnet, a very accomplished person, and who, at New York, had made himself extremely acceptable. Under him, however, the question of income came to a crisis. The assembly, much mortified by having, under the charter of William, been deprived of the choice of a governor, endeavoured to keep him still under their influence by granting his salary only from year to year, and varying its amount according as he had given satisfaction. This arrangement was very disagreeable to him, and still more to the ministry at home, against whose power it was directly levelled. Burnet, relying on their support, pressed with great vehemence for the desired arrangement; but it was strenuously resisted, and the controversy was suspended by his death in 1729. The cabinet then sent out Belcher, who had formerly acted as their agent, but with distinct instructions to insist on this point, which, it was hoped, his great popularity might gain. He does not, however, seem to have entered on the undertaking very heartily, and when the assembly passed a liberal vote, he obtained permission to accept it. Though still ordered to press the general measure, he seems to have concerned himself very little about the matter, and thus the assembly, by dogged perseverance, finally gained this important object. They had remarked, that in these long controversies, ministers uniformly sought to overawe them by threatening to lay their conduct before the British legislature. Yet this menace having never been executed, they were led to suspect that body to be more favourable to them than the court represented. At all events

they felt themselves encouraged to transmit a petition, desiring to have the direction and control of all public moneys ; and hence their surprise and indignation were extreme when they learned that a vote had been passed pronouncing it to be "frivolous and groundless, a high insult upon his majesty's government, and tending to shake off the dependency of the said colony upon this kingdom, to which by law and right they are and ought to be subject."

In 1740, Belcher fell into unjust suspicion with the ministry, and was removed ; but on his innocence being ascertained, he was compensated some years after with the government of New Jersey. He was succeeded by Shirley, who espoused somewhat the cause of prerogative ; yet by moderation and great kindness towards the opposite party, he retained a large share of their goodwill. This was heightened by his zealous promotion of the military operations against Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, which were carried on chiefly from Massachusetts, and crowned with signal success. Pownall, who was appointed in 1757, showed some preference for the popular party, though without alienating their antagonists ; and his reputation was aided by certain warlike exploits in which he had some share. Bernard, who took his place in 1760, belongs to the period of revolutionary trouble.

We shall now conclude with a rapid sketch of the other colonies of New England, which mostly sprung from Massachusetts, but do not in their history present the same striking events.

CONNECTICUT was an early shoot from that settlement

Some knowledge of the fertile banks of the river so named, and a spirit of restless enterprise, soon excited a strong desire to people a new region, though there was still ample space in the original colony. This project was at first discouraged by the ruling authorities; but in 1635 and 1636, two successive parties migrated to that quarter, accompanied by Mr. Hooker, who, next to Cotton, was reckoned the light of the western churches. They drove their cattle before them, through the thick entangled woods, sleeping under the canopy of heaven, and suffering many severe hardships. These they encountered with characteristic firmness; and reaching the desired spot, founded Hartford, Springfield, and other small villages. In 1637, Eaton and Davenport, with some strict Puritans, settled New Haven, which for a considerable time held itself independent of Connecticut, as well as of Massachusetts. All these arrangements had been made without any concert with the proprietors in England, Lords Brooke, and Saye and Sele, who had obtained the land by assignment from the original company. The colony, in 1644, succeeded in purchasing the rights of those noblemen; a transaction, the legality of which, though doubted, appears never to have been contested. The Dutch, also, from Manhattan, claimed the territory, and had a fortified station at the mouth of the river; but the English treated their pretensions as altogether unfounded, and if they did not attack them, were prepared to resist any attempt to dislodge their own settlers.

The colony, in its very infancy, suffered inconvenience from the war against the Pequod Indians, the events of which we have already noticed. After a severe contest,

they completely triumphed, and earned the blessing of a long peace. Both settlements from this time continued in a state of gradual progress. In 1643 they were combined with Massachusetts and Plymouth, into "the united colonies of New England," chiefly with a view to defence against the Dutch, French, and Indians; an arrangement which did not interfere with the freedom of their internal government. On the restoration of Charles II., while Massachusetts kept somewhat aloof, Winthrop hastened to England with congratulations. By his own address, combined with the influence of Lord Saye and Sele, and other noblemen, he obtained a charter of the most liberal character, constituting, indeed, an independent democracy. The assembly of deputies had the choice of their governor and assistants; they enacted all laws, could establish courts of justice, levy and employ troops; in short, exercise all the functions of government, with only the vague limitation, that their laws should not be contrary to those of the mother country. They imagined, too, that their coast extended westward as far as the Pacific. New Haven at first proudly refused to merge her independence, even in this privileged state; but the address of the younger Winthrop, and the dread of the commission sent out by Charles II., to regulate the colonies, soon induced her to acquiesce. That gentleman, who was elected governor, showed that to great talents as a man of the world and a scholar he united pure patriotism, devoting himself entirely to the welfare of the colony. The intolerance which produced so great evils in Massachusetts, seems never to have prevailed here. In 1680, the train-bands, composed of the males from sixteen to sixty, amounted to two thousand five

hundred, infering a population of at least ten thousand. These were divided among twenty-six towns, which could soon boast of twenty-one churches. There were only about thirty slaves; paupers were few; neither beggars nor vagabonds were permitted. The trade, chiefly with Boston and New York, was carried on by twenty petty merchants in twenty-four small vessels; and the imports did not exceed the value of £9000. The property of the whole corporation was reckoned at about £110,000.

On the accession of James II., Connecticut sent an address of congratulation, which was well received; but that arbitrary prince, who had determined to cancel all the American charters, was not likely to spare one so foreign to his taste and views. Three successive writs of *quo warranto* were issued; and the colonists, after craving successive delays, and seeing that the blow could not be warded off, determined to yield. Colonel Treat, the governor, wrote to the secretary of state, making the strongest professions of loyalty, yet with a wish to continue as they were, if consistent with his majesty's princely wisdom; but, if otherwise, submitting to his royal commands, and only requesting to be joined to the united colonies under Andros, rather than to any other. Randolph, the relentless enemy of American liberty, urged that this was not enough, and that nothing less than the entire forfeiture of the charter could finally crush their pretensions. James, however, sincerely gratified by the courteous submission of the people, sent orders to Andros to accept it. Assuming the administration, he at the same time demanded the deed; but it was carefully concealed in the hollow of an aged elm, which still stands the object of public veneration. On the ac-

cession of William, the charter, having neither been resigned nor any judicial decision obtained against it, was not considered by legal authorities as forfeited; and that monarch was not prepared to incur the odium of pressing the matter to a conclusion. Thus Connecticut, by timely yielding, retained entire those franchises of which Massachusetts lost a part by her unbending firmness.

RHODE ISLAND.—We have had occasion, in the annals of Massachusetts, to notice the foundation of this little state by Roger Williams. After fleeing from Salem, and encountering many hardships, he reached a fertile spot at the head of a winding bay, which he named Providence. His friendship with the Indians, whose cause he had always espoused, enabled him without difficulty to procure for himself and a few followers of his adverse fortune a small territory. Here he proclaimed his laudable principle of general toleration; and, receiving with kindness all who sought refuge in his domain, made it the chief resort of the partisans of the movement. Its numerous votaries, thrown out by the rigid orthodoxy of Massachusetts, found here a hearty welcome. A certain motley character, especially in regard to creed and worship, was the necessary consequence. Yet, even in periods of the most rapid innovation, there appears a tendency to unity, caused by the newer and bolder sects absorbing those which preceded, and whose tenets had lost the gloss of novelty. The first great accession was from Mrs. Hutchinson's party; and though their views seem to have had little resemblance to his, the two were quickly amalgamated. These refugees, possessing con-

siderable property, made a large purchase from the Indians, which, combined with Providence, composed the state of Rhode Island. The Baptist movement next followed, which Mrs. Hutchinson and her sister so zealously embraced that they prevailed upon Williams himself, at an advanced age, to submit anew to the sacred rite. Even he, however, was struck with horror at the wild effusions of Gorton, and at seeing them propagated in his settlement with the usual success. Actuated by his characteristic mildness, however, he merely effected an arrangement by which that personage, with his fervid adherents, went out and formed another establishment. This was soon followed by the Quaker excitement, which, in its greatest violence, he had sound judgment enough to repress; but as he allowed to its adherents a refuge denied every where else, Rhode Island soon became the point whence they issued forth to the neighbouring states, and upon which they returned. They experienced also the usual success of daring innovators, and, notwithstanding all his efforts, soon became the ruling sect. Mrs. Hutchinson was dead; but her sister, Katherine Scott, and her intimate friend Mrs. Dyar, ranked high among the gifted prophetesses.

From these causes, the colony silently grew, and in 1680 was reported to contain five hundred planters and five hundred other men, whence, as these last were apparently adults, we may infer an entire population of about four thousand. Newport was the harbour; but as yet there was very little either of commerce or of shipping. The religious sects were of course numerous, especially the Baptists and Quakers. The settlement, however, had all along been viewed with an evil

eye by the people of Massachusetts, who saw in it the chief pivot on which turned that enthusiastic movement by which they were so much annoyed. Its exclusion from the union of the colonies in 1643 marked strongly this spirit, and placed it in a somewhat precarious situation. Williams, however, who in 1644 came to Britain, where the Independents were then in full power, and his friend Vane one of their chief leaders, easily obtained a popular charter for the towns of Providence, Newport, and Portsmouth, with a recommendation equivalent to an order, that New England should exchange good offices with him. On his return he was received with a species of triumph; and his still jealous neighbours were obliged to content themselves with shutting their state against him and his people. Again, after the Restoration, John Clarke, the agent of the colony, procured from Charles II. a fresh charter, securing all their privileges, and particularly confirming the right of religious freedom. That prince, however, in the end of his reign, and his successor, in a manner still more determined, applied themselves to cancel all the colonial charters. In July, 1685, accordingly, a *quo warranto* was issued against that of Rhode Island, which, being announced to the assembly, they sent a very humble reply, declaring their intention not to stand suit with his majesty, but earnestly soliciting a continuance of their privileges, especially in regard to their faith. James accepted their submission, and, by his instructions, Andros, in December, 1686, dissolved the government, broke its seal, and assumed the entire administration. But after the Revolution, the people laid hold "of their former gracious privileges," and shared in this respect

the good fortune of Connecticut. They were allowed to resume their charter, which had never been legally forfeited.

NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE.—The extensive region between Massachusetts and the country claimed by France under the name of Acadia, having early drawn the notice of English adventurers, the two most active members of the Plymouth Company, Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason, undertook to colonize it. The latter, secretary to the council, obtained, in 1621, a grant of the lands between Salem and the Merrimack; and next year, in conjunction with Gorges, of those between the last mentioned river and the Kennebeck, as far as the St. Lawrence. In 1629, and again in 1635, when the company was broken up, Mason acquired fresh patents for his portion, which then received the name of New Hampshire. In 1638, however, before the settlement had come to any maturity, he died, and his family were unable to derive any benefit from this vast donation. Sir Ferdinand, meantime, at the crisis of 1635, procured for himself exclusively the whole territory from New Hampshire to the Kennebeck, and this was confirmed in 1639 by a patent from the king, when it received the name of Maine.

These proprietors appear to have set great value on their grants, and to have made active exertions to improve them. Dover and Portsmouth were early founded on the Piscataqua; and in 1635, Gorges sent out his nephew to govern the district. Yet their settlements made very slow progress. Being high church and monarchy men, they granted none of those franchises by

which alone emigrants could be attracted to this northern soil; while to the aristocratic class, Virginia offered a much more tempting resort. Only a few hardy adventurers were enticed^d by the abundant supply of fish and timber, who gradually formed along the coast small stations, adding the practice of a slight agriculture for the supply of immediate wants.

Massachusetts, however, began to overflow into these territories. In 1637, Wheelright, the antinomian preacher, founded on the Piscataqua the town of Exeter, without paying much regard to the proprietor's rights, though he was ultimately obliged to submit to his officer, Williams. Three years afterwards, Massachusetts advanced claims to New Hampshire, as being within her patent; and, although her pretensions were far from valid, her strength and the inclination of the people enabled her without difficulty to make them good. This new member was incorporated and endowed with all her political privileges. Several zealous ministers were sent, who are said to have greatly improved the people; but they had the discretion not to enforce any exclusive system, and during nearly forty years of this rule, the foundations of solid prosperity were laid. The feeling spread among the small sea-ports which began to stud the coast of Maine, and they were successively, either at their own request, or by the consent of large majorities, incorporated with the others. The proprietors loudly, and with good show of reason, remonstrated against these proceedings, but without obtaining any redress. The independents, now in power, were adverse to them, and friendly to Massachusetts; while the people, included within the

political system of the latter state, earnestly petitioned for its continuance.

A complete reverse took place at the restoration of Charles II., all whose partialities were in favour of the old royalist proprietors, and against the puritan colony. Gorges and Mason, grandsons of the original patentees, immediately applied for restitution of their rights which, was granted, and the commissioners then sent out were instructed to enforce it. Yet the general court, by their local power, the affections of the inhabitants, and by constantly evading the demand for deputies duly empowered, contrived, during sixteen years, to retain the jurisdiction; but being, in 1677, brought before the chief justices of England, their pretensions were at once set aside. Mason was also obliged to yield his authority, though retaining a claim upon the lands. Maine was assigned to Gorges; but the rulers of Massachusetts contrived to purchase his rights for £1250, a sum, perhaps, above its actual value at the moment. They incurred reproach by treating it as a subject territory, appointing the governor and council, though they graciously allowed a popular legislature.

New Hampshire being thus thrown loose, it was determined to manage it as a royal province: and in 1682, Edward Cranfield was sent as administrator. His government was one continued scene of discontent on the part of the people, amounting sometimes to rebellion. Mr. Bancroft represents him as avowedly making it his sole object to amass money. It appears more certain that all his maxims were those of high prerogative; while Massachusetts had breathed among the people the puritan and republican spirit in its full force. He wrote "that while the clergy were allowed to preach,

no true allegiance would be found in those parts." In 1685, he solicited his recall, declaring he should "esteem it the greatest happiness in the world to be allowed to remove from those unreasonable people." Presently after, this country, with the whole of New England, was united under the successive governments of Dudley and Andros. At the Revolution, it again became a separate and royal colony, though with some dependence on Massachusetts.

CHAPTER VI.

SETTLEMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE story of New England has exhibited some of the peculiarities of the Quakers. Carrying to an undue length that religious movement which produced the Reformation, they relinquished a proper regard not only to forms and ordinances, but to reason, and, in some degree, to Scripture, yielding themselves, in a great measure, to the guidance of visions and inward illuminations. They constituted, at this period, as already observed, the extreme of the ultra-protestant section, which thenceforth began to recede from its too forward position. Not only did no similar sects spring up, but they themselves gradually pruned away the exaggerated features of their system. They assumed even a remarkably sedate character, and retaining still their deep devotional feeling, with only a few outward peculiarities, distinguished themselves in the walks of life by practical philanthropy. In this chastened and reformed Quakerism, the lead was taken by William Penn, one of the most illustrious characters of modern times. Born to rank and distinction, son to an admiral who had attained celebrity under Cromwell by the conquest of Jamaica, he embraced at college this persecuted cause, and devoted himself to it throughout his whole life. Refusing to retract or compromise his views, he was ex-

pelled from his father's house, becoming amenable to all the rigours then enforced against eccentric modes of religious worship and teaching. He indulged, at first, in certain extravagances; but ripening years, combined with extensive study, and travel over a great part of Europe, enlarged his mind, and while retaining the same devoted attachment to what was valuable in his system, he purified it from its principal errors. His steady course of Christian kindness gained for him the general esteem of the public, and ultimately led to a reconciliation with his parent, who bequeathed to him the whole of his property.

Among the tenets of this school, which Penn at all times advocated with the utmost zeal, was that of complete liberty in religious opinion and worship. It became, indeed, a leading object of his life to render himself a shield not only to his own people, but to all who on this ground were exposed to suffering and persecution. Unable as yet fully to accomplish his end in the old world, he conceived the plan of providing for them, in the new continent, an asylum similar to that of their pilgrim ancestors. By founding there a state open to the votaries of every faith, he might, he hoped, fulfil this benevolent purpose, and at the same time secure for himself a degree of importance and wealth. He possessed, in virtue of his father's services, a claim on government, estimated at £16,000; but after a long delay, amid the exigencies of the court, he could not without difficulty have rendered it effective in any shape, except for one favourable circumstance. He enjoyed the favour both of Charles II. and James II., and was always a welcome guest at Whitehall. This intercourse

with princes whose character was so unlike his own, excited in that age a feeling of surprise which we can scarcely avoid sharing. The most injurious surmises arose,—he was represented as a papist, and even a Jesuit. He seems, however, to have clearly proved, that he never concurred in any of the illegal measures of those rulers, but employed his influence almost solely with the view of obtaining protection for those numerous sufferers in whom he took so deep an interest. Had his object been money, he must have encountered many obstacles in obtaining it from the dilapidated treasury of Charles. It was much easier to get the royal assent respecting a desert region beyond the Atlantic, whence no immediate benefit was derived. His petition, being presented in June, 1680, was referred to the agents of the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore, who declared it to be unobjectionable, provided the rights of these individuals were preserved inviolate. Penn, therefore, submitted the draft of a charter, which, after being revised by Chief-Justice North and the Bishop of London, was passed under the seal-royal. It granted to him the tract in America extending northwards from the 40th to the 43d degree of latitude, and five degrees of longitude westward, from a boundary-line drawn twelve miles from Newcastle on the Delaware. Nearly the same privileges were conceded as were formerly granted to Lord Baltimore. The proprietor was empowered to dispose of the lands in fee-simple, to levy taxes with consent of the freemen or their delegates, to erect courts of justice, and (what one might scarcely have expected) to raise forces for the defence of the province by sea and land. There was reserved, however, the sovereignty

of the crown, and its claim to allegiance, also an appeal from the courts to the king in council, and the right of parliament to levy custom duties. The acts passed by the Assembly and the owner were to be transmitted within five years to his majesty, and if considered unconstitutional, might be disallowed. The Bishop of London stipulated for the reception of a preacher, as soon as one should be requested by twenty of the settlers.

Invested with these ample powers, Penn proceeded to give to the colony a constitution, on a very liberal footing. A council of seventy-two, elected by the body of the people, and having a third of their number renewed every year, carried on the executive government, in conjunction with the proprietor, who was allowed three votes. This body was divided into four committees, of plantation, trade, justice, and education. They prepared the bills and propositions which were submitted to the General Assembly, also elected by the people. They were to sit nine days only, during eight of which they were to consider the proposals made by the council, and on the ninth to pronounce their decision. This system, said to have been copied chiefly from the Oceana of Harrington, was not very well fitted for practical purposes, and had not a long duration.

Penn now circulated widely his proposals through Britain, France, and Germany; the oppressed and impoverished of every class being invited to this land of promise. He recommended it not only to those who suffered under religious persecution, but "to industrious labourers and handicraftsmen—ingenious spirits low in the world—younger brothers of small inheritances, in-

stead of hanging on as retainers on their elder brother's table and charity—lastly, to men of a universal spirit, who have an eye to the good of posterity." The necessary expense of conveyance was stated to be,—for an adult £5, a child under twelve £2, 10s., goods £2 per ton. Those who could not afford even this moderate amount, were informed that, on engaging with emigrants of property for a service of four years, not only would their passage be defrayed, but at the end of the term they would receive fifty acres, at 2s. quit-rent. An extent of five thousand acres was sold for £100, with 50s. quit-rent, commencing only in 1684. Those who preferred might pay merely a quit-rent of 1d. an acre, or £20, 16s. 8d. Smaller tracts were disposed of at corresponding prices. Poor men were allowed fifty acres at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per acre.

These advantageous terms, the troubled state of Europe, and the high character of the proprietor, caused his proposals to be received with general favour. An influx into America took place, such as had never been equalled since the days of the first settlers. Between 1682 and 1685, there arrived ninety sail, conveying an average of eighty passengers, in all seven thousand two hundred, besides one thousand who had landed in 1681. They had been sent under his kinsman, Markham, to take possession of the country, and prepare the way for the larger colony. He found no difficulty in completing the purchase of an extensive tract of land from the Indians, on terms satisfactory to them, yet moderate for the buyer.

In October, 1682, Penn arrived, with a body of two thousand emigrants. After some time spent in survey

ing his new possessions, he, in the beginning of 1683, negotiated his famous treaty with the native chiefs, under the canopy of a spacious elm tree, near the present site of Philadelphia.

• His next object was to found a capital for his new settlement. He chose a site upon a neck of land between the Schuylkill and Delaware, in a situation which appeared at once agreeable and healthy, abounding in water, and with convenient river communications. He gave to it the name of Philadelphia (brotherly love), under which it has become one of the most flourishing cities in the New World. Combining the taste for neatness and regularity characteristic of his people, with a love of rural nature, he planned a town composed of parallel streets, each a hundred feet broad, crossed by others also spacious, and some indicating by their very names, Vine, Mulberry, Chestnut, that the verdure of the country was still to enliven them. The purchasers of five thousand acres were to have a house in one of the two principal streets, with a garden and orchard; those of one thousand, in the three next; such as were under one thousand acres, in the cross streets. In 1684, fifty villages, arranged in regular squares, had sprung up, on a similar plan, though on a smaller scale.

In December, 1682, Penn proceeded to Maryland, to adjust with Lord Baltimore the boundaries of their respective provinces. His lordship received him, as he had before received his agent Markham, with the utmost politeness; yet the arrangement was found very difficult and vexatious. The specified limit of the 40th degree had, in the maps of that age, been made to run across the Bay of Chesapeake, about the latitude of Pool's

Island. Thus the head of that great inlet was left within the bounds assigned to Pennsylvania, and afforded an advantageous outlet for her commerce. Lord Baltimore, however, caused a new and more scientific survey to be made, showing that this limit really lay considerably to the north of any part of the bay, from which the new province was thus wholly excluded. This circumstance bore heavily upon the philanthropist, whose colony was thus deprived of all direct maritime trade. He earnestly urged, that the space in question was a hundred times more valuable to him than to the other party, of whose territory this was only an outer tract, scarcely at all known or settled; that the proprietor of Maryland must probably have gained by the error in settling his own boundaries with Virginia; and that the understanding upon which the grant had been made ought to be taken into consideration. Their interests came into collision on another point. Penn had obtained a grant from the Duke of York of the whole coast of the river and bay of Delaware, southward from Newcastle to Cape Henlopen, which would in some degree have supplied his want of a seacoast. But the other party claimed all the shores of this bay also, as included within the 40th degree. It became necessary to refer the question to the Committee of Plantation, who, in November, 1685, came to the decision that the 40th degree, in its real direction, must be the boundary, thus excluding the Quaker from the Chesapeake. But while they allowed that the Maryland patent had extended indeed to the Delaware, they considered that it had been granted only in respect to such countries as were not occupied by any Christian people, while that region had

been already colonized in considerable numbers by the Dutch and Swedes. Hence it was determined that the eastern part belonged of right to the crown, including Penn's domain, which was thereby rendered valid, and gave him the command of that fine estuary, thus in a great measure compensating his loss on another side.

In 1684, Penn was induced by this and other affairs to return to England, leaving the administration in the hands of commissioners; a body who did not by any means work harmoniously. Moore, a leading proprietary officer, was accused by the assembly of corruption and other high misdemeanors; which charge being strenuously resisted by the executive, a violent collision ensued. The proprietor, while he felt disposed to grant a liberal government to his settlers, was probably little prepared to make over to them the whole political power, which yet they seem to have been determined to grasp. In 1686, he sent instructions to his officers to dissolve the constitution, which he had so studiously constructed. The assembly, however, foreseeing that the change was proposed with a view to the abridgment of their privileges, resolutely opposed his views. He then determined to supersede the commission, and appoint a deputy-governor, as more likely to support his authority.

The person selected was Blackwell, who is admitted to have been no Quaker, and indeed to have had nothing akin to the character. The apology made, seems singular, namely, that no one of that profession could be found fit for the office, and willing to undertake it. We may rather suspect that, being a dexterous politician and high advocate for power, he was expected to beat down the democratic opposition. His efforts for this purpose

were carried to an extreme. White, who, as former speaker, had been active in the prosecution of Moore, having been re-elected as delegate, was thrown into prison, and his claim under the habeas corpus act evaded. The most imbittered messages passed between the governor and assembly. He contrived, however, to gain over a part of the members, and thus to carry on the government.

On these proceedings being represented to him, Penn was not disposed to support them; and he now threw almost every thing into the hands of the council, on whom he conferred the power of choosing the executive officers and deputy-governor: they elected Thomas Lloyd, a Quaker preacher of great merit. But neither did this arrangement work well. Schisms arose among the too numerous body; and violent protests were made. The chief conflicts, which were between the old territory of Pennsylvania and the new counties on the Delaware, rose to such a height, that the proprietor was obliged reluctantly to separate the two territories; appointing Markham governor of the latter, which ultimately formed a small state, bearing the name of that great bay.

The Pennsylvanians, who had owed every thing to James II., did not share the general joy at his abdication, in 1688. The news was unwillingly believed; and the government, till September 1789, was still administered in his name. This was carefully reported from New York; while in England, charges were brought against the proprietor as adhering to popery, or at least strongly attached to the exiled house. William, after some hesitation, deprived him of his patent; and in

April, 1693, Benjamin Fletcher, governor of New York, assumed authority also over Pennsylvania. The assembly professed their willingness to obey, provided they were ruled in the usual manner, and by laws founded on letters-patent. But he intimated that they were much mistaken; that the change had been made on account of neglects and miscarriages; and that his majesty's mode of governing would be in direct opposition to that of Mr. Penn. It was even maintained that all the former laws had been abrogated, though a willingness was expressed to re-enact the greater number. The assembly, however, insisted on their validity, and, while acknowledging the authority of the king, denied the charge of former misgovernment. They resisted also the demands for money; and thus a perpetual strife reigned between them and the governor, who declared that nothing would remedy the evil but annexation to New York; and complained that, though his door was never shut, it was avoided, as if it had been treason to be seen in his company.

Penn, meantime, passed through many trials; and after being repeatedly acquitted, was arraigned on fresh charges. However, he was strongly supported by Locke, Rochester, and other friends; and as nothing could be proved against him except a personal attachment to King James, without sharing his bigotry, William, in August, 1694, passed the patent for his restoration. As he could not go out in person, Markham was again appointed deputy. But the assembly, though pleased to be rid of the royal government, did not show any greater deference to that of the proprietary. They had wrested the privilege of originating bills, and availed themselves of

it so far as to draw almost the whole power into their hands. Markham, on convening them in 1697, said :— “ You are met, not by virtue of any writ of mine, but of a law made by yourselves.”

In 1699, Penn again visited the colony. His object seems to have been to obtain the consent of the people to a constitution which, granting them every reasonable franchise, might preserve to himself the ordinary powers of an executive head. After much difficulty and opposition, he had the address to carry his point. The original frame was surrendered, and a new one formed, based on the more common and approved principles of representative government. The assembly, as elsewhere, was to have the power of originating bills ; but these were to require the assent of the proprietary. He obtained also the important privilege of naming the council, and had thus to contend with only one popular body instead of two.

He had gone out with the avowed intention of spending the rest of his life in Pennsylvania ; but he was recalled by a project for abolishing all the proprietary governments, for which purpose a new bill had been introduced into parliament. He was mortified to find this measure supported by a considerable body of his own colonists.

Penn, however, on reaching England, was gratified to find that the dreaded project had been renounced, and the bill withdrawn. He acquired considerable favour with Queen Anne ; but circumstances prevented his return. Hamilton, appointed his deputy, was still troubled by internal dissensions. These were not abated by the nomination, in 1703, of Evans, in whom we see a cha-

racter the most opposite to that of the proprietor himself. This officer, young, lively, fond of frolic and revelry, and inflamed with military ardour, was utterly opposed to the Quaker assembly, and treated with derision their pacific dispositions. He began to erect forts without their permission, and endeavoured, but in vain, to rouse them by a false alarm of a French invasion. On having three of their bills presented to him, he told them, "they were very great absurdities." They sent home loud remonstrances, complaining, also, that under the new frame their liberties were greatly abridged. Penn listened unwillingly, and it was not till 1709 that this unsuitable ruler was removed. He was succeeded by Gookin, an Irish gentleman, of good age and mild manners; yet the discontents still continued. The war with Canada having broken out, he had the ungracious task of demanding a supply of £4000 and one hundred and fifty men. It was privately intimated that the money would suffice; but the assembly declared that they could not in conscience either fight or hire others to do so; however, they offered the queen a present of £500. The chief objection made was to the amount; but on this point, pleading poverty, they stood firm. An equal sum was afterwards, in a similar manner, extracted from them.

In 1710, Penn, having reached the age of sixty-six, sent out a solemn remonstrance on the feuds and discontent in which the settlers had so long indulged. Amid the satisfaction of seeing the colony free and flourishing, their disputes had been to him a source of grief, trouble, and poverty. Recapitulating the whole train of his proceedings, he appealed to them whether he had given any

real cause for this conduct ; he lamented the unhappiness they were bringing on themselves, as well as the scandal they were causing in the eyes of Europe, by such incessant contention. This appeal was not unsuccessful ; and in the next year an assembly much more friendly to him was elected. It is doubtful, however, if this news ever reached him. Oppressed with embarrassments and losses incurred seemingly without blame, he had entered into a treaty with government for transferring his territorial rights, and had agreed to accept for them £12,000. A series of apoplectic shocks, however, entirely deprived him of his faculties, and disabled him from completing the bargain, so that the property remained in his family.

The favour restored to Penn was not extended to Gookin, whom the assembly accused of arbitrary measures, and of favouring the non-quaker part of the population. In 1716, he was succeeded by Sir William Keith, who, during the illness of the founder, was named by the king. This governor enjoyed a much greater degree of favour than any of his predecessors, though he is accused of purchasing it by too entire an acquiescence in the demands of the assembly, and allowing almost the whole power to pass into their hands. Such, at least, was the opinion of the proprietaries, who considered him also as neglecting their interests, and at the end of nine years removed him. He then attempted to raise a factious opposition, but was obliged to leave the colony. After a peaceable administration of several years by Major Gordon, Thomas, and afterwards John Penn, sons of the late owner, went out in 1732 and 1734. They were received with the most cordial welcome, though

the former did not altogether preserve his popularity.

During the early part of the eighteenth century, the character of the population underwent a gradual change. From the first a large proportion had been drawn from Germany, and Pennsylvania became the favourite resort of those who, by poverty and persecution, were driven from that country. A considerable number, who felt uneasy in the neighbouring states, joined their countrymen. The prevailing sect among this people were the branch of the anabaptists called Mennonites, who, to a great extent, harmonized with the Quakers, both in their character and religious views. In 1755, a writer estimates that, of the entire population of two hundred and twenty thousand, nearly a half were Germans, and two-fifths of the remainder disciples of Barclay. Sharing the feelings of ordinary Englishmen, he is averse to the latter, and seems to view the former with still greater antipathy. He thinks it an extreme hardship, that these "ignorant, proud, stubborn clowns" strangers to the language and laws of England, should bear rule in the assembly. The usual reproach is renewed, that no measures were taken for the defence of the country. The threatening attitude which the French and their Indian allies had now assumed along the back settlements, gave so much force to this complaint, that, in 1755, an act was extorted from the members for embodying and training a regiment of provincial militia. The Quakers thenceforth withdrew in a great measure from public affairs, and resigned that power which they had held upwards of seventy years. They had not exercised it with all the moderation which would have been desirable and

suitable to their profession; yet during this long period, they had maintained profound peace with the Indians, against whom other states had waged the most bitter hostilities. Amid the reiterated complaints, too, of the want of provision for state defence, the fact was, that no enemy had ever molested its borders. They soon after distinguished themselves by the noble measure of generally emancipating their negro slaves, who had insensibly increased to a considerable number.

CHAPTER VII.

SETTLEMENT OF NEW YORK.

NOTWITHSTANDING the paramount importance to which New York has attained, its early settlement was not accompanied by such striking circumstances as marked those of some other colonies.

About the year 1600, the attention of the English and Dutch had been directed to the discovery of a northern passage to India, which they hoped might at once be shorter, and enable them to escape the still formidable hostility of Spain. After this object had been vainly pursued by Frobisher, Davis, Barentz, and other navigators, it was resumed by Henry Hudson. Though a native of Holland, he was first employed by a company of English merchants, when he made the daring effort to cross the pole itself, and penetrated farther in that direction than any of his predecessors; but the icy barriers compelled him to return. He next attempted an eastern passage, between Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen, but again failed. His patrons in London then lost courage; but he, animated by the same ardour, solicited and obtained from the Dutch East India Company a small vessel, named the *Crescent*, to renew his researches. After another abortive endeavour at an eastern passage, he appears to have finally renounced that object; and steering toward the west, began to explore the Ameri-

can coast, from Newfoundland southwards. It had, indeed, been to a great extent both discovered and settled, yet not in such continuity as to preclude the hope of finding a deep bay leading to the Pacific, and through it to the East Indies. In the beginning of July, he reached the great bank, and continued his course cautiously along the shores of Acadia. In 44° he touched at the mouth of a spacious river, which appears to have been the Penobscot, where the French were found carrying on a very active trade. In passing Cape Cod, his people landed at several points, and held intercourse with the natives. They then pursued their course through the open sea, till, on the 17th of August, they came in sight of a low land, and soon afterwards found themselves off the bar of James river, where they understood that the English had formed a settlement. No opening having yet occurred, it seemed expedient to return northward, keeping closer to the coast. They found it running northwest, and entered a great bay with rivers, evidently that of Delaware. The water was so shoaly, however, as to prevent its exploration, unless in pinnaces drawing only four or five feet. They proceeded therefore to the coast now called New Jersey, and were involved in the range of Islands running parallel to it. The navigation was very difficult on account of storms and frequent shallows. At length Hudson came to a continuous land, good and pleasant, rising boldly from the sea, and bounded by high hills. He appeared to discover the mouths of three great rivers, which, however, could only be different channels, separated by islands, of the great stream now bearing his name. Boats were sent to sound the most northern of them, which was found to afford a

good depth of water. They entered it, and were soon visited by large parties of natives in canoes, when a friendly exchange took place, of tobacco and maize for knives and beads. Unfortunately, a boat, being sent to examine one of the other channels, was assailed by twenty of the savages in two skiffs, one of the seamen killed, and two wounded. This unhappy event poisoned their future intercourse with the Indians, whose friendly professions were henceforth considered as made only with a view to betray them. At one place, twenty-eight canoes, full of men, women, and children, approached and made overtures for trade ; but their intentions being considered evil, they were not allowed to come on board. In ascending, the Hudson was found to be a noble stream, a mile broad, and bordered by lofty mountains. Seventeen days after entering it, the vessel, being embarrassed by shoals, stopped at a point where a small city has since been built, bearing the name of the discoverer. A boat sailed eight or nine leagues higher, somewhat above the site of Albany, where it was clear the ship could not proceed farther. In this upper tract, the intercourse with the natives was very friendly, and even the suspicions of the crew were lulled. One party came on board, who, being freely treated with wine and aquavita, became all merry, and one completely tipsy, the effects of which caused to his companions the greatest surprise. On the way down, they were repeatedly attacked by the large body which, in ascending, had excited their jealousy. On each occasion, a discharge of musketry, killing two or three, caused all the rest to take flight. On leaving the river, Hudson made directly for Europe, and arrived at Dartmouth on the 7th of November, 1609.

He transmitted to the Dutch Company a flattering report of the country which he had discovered, strongly recommending a settlement. It has even been said, that he sold his rights to them, which seems quite erroneous, as in fact he could not be said to possess any. He was not even allowed to follow up this important discovery, but was obliged again to seek employment from the English merchants. By them, in 1610, he was sent out on that remarkable voyage, during which he explored the great bay to which his name is attached, but unhappily fell a sacrifice to the mutiny of a turbulent crew.

The Dutch, however, in virtue of this discovery, claimed the country, and in 1610, a few individuals fitted out a vessel for traffic. Several stations were formed on the island of Manhattan (the name then given to New York,) but no attempt was made to colonize. In 1613, they were visited by Argall, the adventurous English captain, who compelled them to own the dominion of his country; but as no steps were taken to follow up this advantage, they continued as before to trade with the natives, and consider the land their own. In 1614, a grant of exclusive commerce was made to a company of merchants, who thereupon erected a rude fort, and pushed their operations as high as Albany. They appear at the same time to have formed a station at the mouth of the Connecticut.

In 1620, American settlement was attempted on a grander scale, by the formation of the Dutch West India Company, incorporated for twenty-four years. Their privileges included the whole western coast of Africa, as far as the Cape, with all the eastern shores of America,

from Newfoundland to the Straits of Magellan. Over this vast extent they had the exclusive right to conclude treaties, carry on war, and exercise all the functions of government. No notice was taken in the grant, that the whole of this territory was claimed, and many parts occupied, by other European nations; nor did the government, in making this vast donation of what was not their own, promise the means of placing it in the company's hands. Their possessions, accordingly, were fiercely disputed, and most precariously held. The weakness of the Portuguese crown enabled them to grasp large portions of its territory in Brazil and on the African coast. In North America they did not venture to measure their strength with the English, but were content silently to enlarge their stations on the Hudson, which the latter showed no disposition to occupy. The country was called New Netherlands; and an increasing cluster of cottages, where New York now stands, was named New Amsterdam.

As yet there was nothing that could be denominated a colony; but in 1629, government interposed to establish one on a considerable scale. It was planned on quite an aristocratic basis; for though lands were granted to detached settlers, the chief dependence was on opulent individuals, who were expected to carry out bodies of tenants at their own expense; and those who should transport fifty, became lords of manors, holding the absolute property of the lands thus colonized. They might even possess tracts sixteen miles long, and be furnished with negroes, if they could profitably do so. Several of them began to found these manors; two, Godyn and De Vries, led out thirty settlers to the head

of the Delaware, laying the first foundation of that state; but the latter having visited home, found on his return that it had been attacked by the Indians and totally destroyed. The whole colony was unprosperous, and very hard pressed on different sides. The New England settlement in Connecticut soon surrounded their little station, obliged them to give way, and even to abandon part of Long Island. At the same time, the Swedes, then in the height of their power under Gustavus Adolphus, planned a settlement, which was zealously supported by that great monarch, who subscribed 400,000 dollars in its favour. They fixed on the Bay of Delaware; and though Kieft, the governor sent from Holland, entered a protest, he did not venture to employ force against the conqueror of Lutzen. Moreover, Lord Baltimore, having just obtained his patent extending northward to the latitude of 40°, intimated his claim to nearly the whole of the Dutch territory. All these annoyances, however, were small compared to the Indian war, in which the atrocious violence of Kieft involved the colony. Attacking by surprise a party who had shown some hostile dispositions, he commenced a general massacre, in which nearly a hundred perished. Hence raged during two years a contest, accompanied by the usual horrors and calamities, and which effectually checked the progress of New Netherlands. At length a treaty was negotiated, in which the five nations were included.

A few years after, in 1646, the governor was recalled, to the great satisfaction of the people, and was succeeded by Stuyvesant, a military officer of distinction, brave, honest, and with some tincture of letters. Adopting a

wise and humane policy towards the Indians, he succeeded in obviating any disturbance from that quarter. By negotiation with the company, he obtained a release from those trammels by which commerce had hitherto been fettered, substituting moderate duties on exports and imports. He suffered, however, much trouble from the English, who were continually extending their frontier on and beyond the Connecticut, and set scarcely any limit to their claims. The settlers discouraged greatly any idea of going to war with so powerful a neighbour, and exhorted him to gain the best terms he could by treaty. By large concessions he obtained a provisional compact, which was never indeed ratified in Britain, yet obtained for his people some security. Stuyvesant then turned his eyes on the other side to the Swedish colony, which had prospered and become a commercial rival. It was much inferior, however, to New Netherlands, while the death of Gustavus and of his great ministers and generals, succeeded by the fantastic sway of Christina, rendered her country no longer formidable. He therefore, with the sanction of his employers, determined to reannex it, for which some violent proceedings on the part of Rising, the governor, afforded a fair pretext. Having assembled a force of six hundred men, he marched into New Sweden, as it was termed, which, after a short resistance, renounced that name, and became incorporated with the Dutch dependency. A few of the settlers returned to their native country; the rest yielded to the mild sway of the conqueror. Stuyvesant was next annoyed by Lord Baltimore, who could boast that his charter entitled him to extend his borders to New England, leaving no room whatever for New Nether-

lands ; but as his pretensions were not supported by any adequate force, they were easily evaded.

Considering the long and imbittered hostility of England against the Dutch, it may appear wonderful that she did not sooner attempt the conquest of a valuable possession, to which she had so plausible a title. Cromwell, in fact, had projected it, but was diverted by other objects. Charles II., always prejudiced against that people, soon adopted the same resolution ; and even before any measure was taken for conquering the country, he included it in a grant made to his brother James, of the territory from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, and from the Connecticut to the Delaware. To make good this donation, Sir Robert Nichols was sent out with an expedition, to be reinforced by a detachment from another colony. The Dutch had for some time foreseen the crisis ; but unwilling to expend their funds in sending troops, they urged the governor to seek means of defence within his own dominions. This was exceedingly difficult ; as the people declined making any sacrifices to repel a power from whom they hoped liberal treatment. In August, 1664, Nichols cast anchor in face of New Amsterdam, having landed part of his troops on Long Island. He immediately summoned the city to surrender, guarantying to the people their property, the rights of citizens, their ancient laws and usages. The governor attempted by delay and negotiation to parry the blow ; but the other declined all discussion, and the principal inhabitants, headed by Winthrop from Connecticut, assembling in the town-hall, determined against offering any resistance. They drew up articles of surrender conformable to the demand of the English officer, which,

however, Stuyvesant refused to sign till the place was actually in the enemy's hands.

The colonists were disappointed in their hope of augmented privileges, having fallen into the hands of the Duke of York (from whom the state derived its name), one who afterwards showed himself willing to sacrifice a crown in the attempt to establish absolute power. Under his direction, Nichols and his successor Lovelace admitted no sharers in their authority except a court of assizes, composed of a council and justices of the peace, all appointed by themselves. In the governor and this body was vested the whole power, legislative, executive, and judicial. The arbitrary imposition of taxes, as usual, excited the strongest discontent. Nichols extracted sums of money by declaring new patents necessary for the Dutch, on which fees were exacted. Lovelace is said to have avowed the policy of laying on duties so heavy, that the people might have leisure to think of nothing but the means of paying them. In some cases payment was refused; and from different quarters such warm remonstrances appeared, that they were condemned to be burned by the common executioner. In these circumstances, hostilities broke out between England and Holland; a small squadron, under Evertzen, appearing before New York, encountered no resistance; he regained the city and country with the same ease and rapidity that Nichols had conquered it. The war, however, was occasioned by the famous league of Louis XIV. and Charles II., entirely to crush the Dutch republic. That people encountered it with glory, and saved themselves; but in such a hard struggle, they could not expect to secure conquests. It was

honourable for them to obtain a treaty, stipulating the restoration of those made on each side; but on this ground they again lost New York.

The duke then obtained a new patent, securing more ample powers than ever to govern the inhabitants by such ordinances as he or his deputies should establish. Andros, long an instrument of despotism, was sent out as governor, but encountered in some quarters open though fruitless opposition. James applauded his energy on this occasion, as well as his prudence in "discouraging all mention of assemblies." The people, however, were not by any means patient under this denial, especially when, at the expiration of three years, for which the taxes had been at first imposed, they were renewed during an equal period, without the slightest reference to themselves. They made such loud complaints against Andros, that he was recalled to answer for his conduct. Soon after Dyer, collector of the revenue, was charged with high treason, for levying taxes without authority of law, and sent to England for trial. Both were acquitted; but the duke was so wrought upon by these violent measures, and the importunity of the colonists, that he at length agreed to give a representation. It was to consist of eighteen members to act in conjunction with a council of ten: a concession which was less valued, because it was carried into execution by Dongan, a new governor, who, as a zealous catholic, was held in horror. The assembly was, however, called, and sat two sessions, 1683 and 1684, passing several laws, which were confirmed by his royal highness. So great, on the whole, was the satisfaction felt, that his accession to the throne was hailed with heartfelt rejoicings. But a change

had come over his views, or rather they had relapsed into their ordinary channel. The charter of Massachusetts having been forfeited, and a determination formed to exclude the people from all representative government, it would have been very inconvenient to let them see neighbours possessing what was denied to themselves. Instructions were accordingly sent to the governor to call no more assemblies, but to centre again the legislative power in his own person. In 1688, Andros was sent out to unite New York, along with all the New England states, in one system of absolute rule. This annexation was peculiarly odious to the former, in whose eyes the others had always been objects of peculiar dread and aversion. Thus James, as the time approached when friends would be so much wanted, studiously converted those he had into imbittered enemies. The first rumours of his downfall were received with equal joy here as at Boston. As soon as the landing of the Prince of Orange was known, a multitude rose in arms, under the conduct of Jacob Leisler, a foreign merchant, of an ardent and daring character. They signed a declaration, "to guard the fort, on behalf of the powers now governing England, to be surrendered to the person, of *the protestant religion*, who shall be sent to take possession thereof." The council found themselves unable to stem the torrent, and, without attempting to defend the place, requested Nicholson, the lieutenant-governor, to proceed to England in order to represent to William the state of affairs, doubtless to influence him in favour of their own party, and represent the declarants as turbulent and seditious. The latter, however, being left in the full possession of power, called an assembly of the

people, who were joined by two deputies from Connecticut. A committee of safety was appointed, having Leisler at their head, who was also placed in command of the fort.

The king, meantime, before being apprized of these proceedings, sent orders to Nicholson to continue for the present to administer affairs. But this functionary had set out for London before the instructions arrived, when Leisler, finding them addressed to the absent officer, "or to such as for the time execute the law," chose to consider them as applying to himself, and thereupon assumed the title and duties of governor. He held two assemblies, and concluded a treaty with New England, agreeing to raise nine hundred men for their mutual defence. But though supported by a majority, he was opposed by a powerful party, who disowned his authority, and insulted him even in the capital; while open resistance was raised in the district of Albany. The opposition was put down, but not without violent measures, which inflamed still further the enmity of its supporters, and excited a degree of general odium. William, meantime, always disposed to employ the agents of his despotic predecessor, was guided by the advice of Nicholson, and taking no notice of Leisler's pretensions, sent Colonel Sloughter to administer the government. This officer did not arrive till March, 1691, when he found the other most unwilling to relinquish the reigns of power, which he had held upwards of two years. Pretending that the colonel's commission was defective, and that only an authority under the king's hand could be held sufficient, he refused to surrender the fort, or own him as chief ruler. But a large party

soon arrayed themselves in arms against him, while his adherents, dreading the superior influence of the mother-country, afforded only timid support. He tendered his submission; but the new governor refused it, seized his person, and issued a special commission to try him: he and his associates were condemned to death, and the sentence was executed upon himself and Milbourne his principal adviser. This punishment, considering his former services, was considered exceedingly severe. The parliament accordingly passed an act reversing the attainder; and the privy council, though they declared the sentence to be legal, recommended the restoration of the forfeited estates. There remained a strong party attached to his memory, and zealous in upholding the franchises of the colony.

Sloughter died suddenly soon after his arrival, and was succeeded by Colonel Fletcher, an able officer, but intemperate and domineering. As the assembly strenuously maintained their privileges, he was speedily involved in violent contests with them; arising chiefly out of his attempt to introduce an episcopal establishment, to which he was bigotedly attached. By great exertions, he contrived to obtain an act of assembly sanctioning it; but that body annexed a clause giving to the people the entire choice of their own ministers. On this occasion he made a violent speech, calling them stubborn, ill-tempered, and unmannerly; alleging that, instead of a third of the legislative power, to which they were entitled, they sought to engross the whole, excluding both the council and governor; taunting them, at the same time, with their large allowance of 10s. a-day, and the strictness with which they exacted it. Another

favourite object was to obtain the command of the militia of Connecticut; but when he went thither, the colonists, following an old precedent, caused the drums to beat, by which his voice was entirely drowned. Astonished at this determination, he thought it best to retreat to his own jurisdiction; and the legal authorities at home decided against him. At length, finding that the American assemblies were not to be intimidated, he gave up the attempt, and his latter years were tranquil.

In 1698, he was succeeded by the Earl of Bellamont, who, having been highly popular in New England, seems to have desired to pursue a similar course in this colony. Unfortunately, he found it rent by the most violent dissensions between the partisans of the unfortunate Leisler and their aristocratic opponents. He studied to soothe the former, and aided in procuring from the assembly a grant of £1000 to the son of that leader. His administration, however, was too short to enable him to overcome the prevailing dissensions. It was unfortunate for him that Kidd, whom he employed in the important object of suppressing piracy, betrayed his trust, and became himself a robber on the high seas, for which he was sent to Britain, tried, and executed.

Bellamont died in 1701, and was succeeded by Lord Cornbury, a degenerate descendant of the Earl of Clarendon. Entirely opposite to his predecessor, he showed an imbittered enmity to the popular party, accompanied by a bigoted attachment to episcopacy, and hatred of all other forms of religion. He seconded also the attempts made by Dudley to subvert the charter of Connecticut. Indulging in extravagant habits, he squandered large sums of the public money, and contracted debts, the

payment of which his official situation enabled him to evade. He thus rendered himself odious and contemptible to all parties, who united in a firm remonstrance to Queen Anne, and induced her to revoke his commission. No longer protected by the privileges of office, he was thrown into prison, and obtained liberation only when the death of his father raised him to the peerage.

Lord Lovelace succeeded, who, on his arrival, made a demand, destined to cause much dissension, for a permanent salary to the governor. Yet his general deportment was popular and satisfactory; but he lived only a few months. The reins were then held for a short time by Ingoldsby, who also made himself very acceptable; and in 1710, the office was filled by Sir Robert Hunter, a man of wit and talent, by which he had raised himself from a low rank in society. He went out, however, strongly imbued with the monarchical principle, and determined to resist the claims of the assembly. In advancing the demand for a fixed income, he made use of very offensive expressions, insinuating doubts of their right to appropriate the public money, and suspicious that it was the government, not the governor, whom they disliked. In the council, also, the doctrine was advanced that the assembly existed only "by the mere grace of the crown." The latter body strenuously vindicated their rights, and refused to grant more than a temporary provision. They remonstrated strongly also against the establishment of a court of chancery, suspected to be with a view of increasing his emoluments. On this ground there seemed great hazard of a collision; but Hunter, being a sensible man, and seeing their very

strong determination, deemed it expedient to yield, and, during his latter years, he studied with success to maintain harmony among the different branches of the administration.

He was succeeded by Burnet, a son of the celebrated bishop and historian, an accomplished, amiable man. He appears to have zealously studied the welfare of the colony; he became very generally popular; and was particularly successful in gaining over the Indian tribes. His attempt, however, to maintain the obnoxious court of chancery, involved him in violent disputes with the assembly. On the advice of a few patriotic but indiscreet individuals, he adopted the injurious measure of prohibiting all commercial intercourse between New York and Canada. The pretext was, that the French merchants bought up the furs brought to Albany and other markets in the interior. This, if true, must have arisen from the fact that they dealt on more liberal terms than the English; yet the latter were so far from demanding this monopoly, that they exclaimed against it as ruinous to them, making such loud complaints, that, in 1720, Burnet was removed, though compensated with the government of Massachusetts.

After a short interval, the direction of affairs was assumed in 1732 by Colonel Cosby, a man of such a violent character as created general aversion to him. Strong interest was excited by the trial of Zenger, editor of a journal which had attacked his administration; but through the exertions of Hamilton, an eminent advocate, he was triumphantly acquitted. Cosby died in 1736, and was followed by Clarke, who, having given scarcely

more satisfaction, yielded the place, in 1741, to Clinton, who ruled upwards of ten years with considerable success and popularity. His successor, Sir Danvers Osborne, suffered severely by the discovery, in 1754, of very arbitrary instructions transmitted to him from home. A great ferment was thus kindled, but gradually subsided; and we shall find New York by no means forward in the cause of independence.

NEW JERSEY, being a branch detached from the state just named, will be considered most advantageously in connexion with that colony. When Nichols, in 1664, made the conquest of the united territory, the tract along the sea-coast, from the west end of Long Island to the Delaware, appeared to him the most favourable for settlement. He invited thither farmers from New England, who already displayed a migratory and enterprising character, and going in considerable numbers, formed along the shore a range of villages. While Nichols, however, was exulting in the success of these efforts, he was struck with dismay by a commission being presented to him, in which the Duke of York constituted Lords Berkeley and Carteret proprietors of this whole line of coast. It had been granted even before the news of the conquest arrived, and it may be presumed that a pecuniary consideration was given, though nothing transpired on that subject. Chagrined beyond measure, he addressed to the duke a long letter, complaining that he had unguardedly parted with the most valuable portion of his patent, leaving New York almost without a territory. Not choosing to accuse the proprietors of having deceived his Grace, he throws the blame on a Captain Scott, who

he declares was born to work mischief. The grantees, it is urged, should be made to accept a tract of one hundred thousand acres on the Delaware, which, by an expenditure of £20,000, might yield profit, not to themselves, perhaps, but to their children's children. The duke, however, honourably determined to adhere to his engagement.

The proprietors, in order to invite settlers, granted franchises of some importance. One was an assembly, half at least of the members of which were to be representatives, and without whose consent no tax could be imposed. The owners reserved to themselves the veto and judicial appointments; but they permitted full freedom of religious worship. Carteret went out as governor, and in compliment to him the colony was called New Jersey. The profit of the proprietors was to arise solely from a quit-rent of 1d. an acre, to be levied only at the end of five years. All went on smoothly till that term arrived, when the settlers, being called upon for payment, showed very little disposition to comply. They urged that they had purchased their lands from the Indians, and it was extremely hard, after advancing a price, to be required to give a rent also. Discontents rose so high, that Carteret was obliged to leave the colony, and a natural son of his own was elected in his room. Soon afterwards the country was conquered by the Dutch; and on his restoration next year, the people peaceably received back their old governor, who gratified them by postponing to a later period the demand for quit-rents, and by other concessions. The proprietors, however, were considerably annoyed by the rulers of New York, who, claiming rights of jurisdiction and tax-

ation, particularly sought to prevent any trade, unless through the medium of their capital. James does not seem to have been disposed to sanction any actual breach of the original contract; and Jones, the chief-justice, reported on the most essential points in favour of the settlers. The local power, however, of the greater colony, wielded by the impetuous Andros, was successfully exerted to harass them in various modes.

Meantime, as late as 1674, Lord Berkeley, disappointed in the hopes with which he had embarked in the undertaking, sold half his territory for £1000 to a party of Quakers, among whom the chief were Byllinge, Fenwick, and William Penn. In arranging with Carteret, who still retained his share, it was found most convenient to divide the province into two parts; these were called East and West Jersey,—the latter being assigned to the new owners. But the duke, whose concurrence was required to the transaction, took the opportunity of re-asserting his dominion over that portion which was subjected to the arbitrary rule and taxation of New York. Jones, however, decided that, there having been no reservation of such claims in the original grant, they could not be now legally enforced. Hence, in 1680, the province was delivered in full right to the proprietors, whose object was to render the place an asylum for the persecuted Quakers, a considerable number of whom were soon assembled. It became necessary to gratify them by a constitution, based on principles of liberty and even of equality; and they made pretensions to the election of their own governor.

In 1682, Carteret, finding little satisfaction in his possession of New Jersey, sold all his rights to another body

of twelve Quakers, Penn being again one. The new owners, with a view to extend their influence, added to their number twelve more of different professions,—the principal of whom was the Duke of Perth, a nobleman of great power in Scotland. His object was to offer an asylum to the Presbyterians of that country, under the iniquitous persecution to which they were exposed. Hunted like wild beasts from place to place, it was justly thought that many would gladly accept a home in the New World. A considerable number were accordingly conveyed thither, and they formed a laborious, useful, and respectable class of settlers.

Nothing, however, could secure them against the determination formed by James to subvert the rights of all the colonies, and establish in them a completely despotic administration. Andros, without any express authority, began to exercise both jurisdiction and taxation; and as these were strenuously resisted,—the juries refusing to convict under them,—complaints were sent home of their insubordination. The duke hereupon, forgetting all his former pledges, ordered, in April, 1686, that writs of *quo warranto* should be entered against both East and West Jersey, “which ought to be more dependent on his majesty.” The proprietors, having in vain attempted to deprecate this measure, at length deemed it expedient to surrender their patent, only soliciting a grant securing their title to the soil; but, before the transaction could be completed, it was interrupted by the Revolution, which left them in the possession of all their claims. They acted on them so feebly, however, that the country is represented as remaining nearly in a state of anarchy till

1702, when they were induced to surrender all their political powers to the crown. The two Jerseys were then reunited, and were governed from that time as a royal colony.

CHAPTER VIII

SETTLEMENT OF CAROLINA AND GEORGIA.

WHILE emigration proceeded so actively in various parts of North America, the regions south of Virginia, though of vast extent, and presenting many natural advantages, had attracted little attention. Yet as the older settlements became crowded, detachments began to overflow. The river Nansemond, on the immediate border of Virginia, had been very early settled; and colonists thence found their way to the banks of the Chowan and the shores of Albemarle Sound. Much farther to the south, a body of enterprising New Englanders had purchased from the Indians a district around Cape Fear. Sir Robert Heath, in 1630, obtained a patent; but having been unable to fulfil the conditions, it was declared forfeited.

The reign of Charles II. was a period of large grants; for, having many claims upon him while he had little to give, he was ready to bestow colonial rights. On the 24th of March, 1663, the whole coast, from the thirty-sixth degree of latitude to the river San Matheo, was granted under the name of Carolina to a body of highly distinguished personages, among whom were Monk, duke of Albemarle, Lord Clarendon, Lord Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Berkeley, and his brother, Sir William, governor of Virginia.

Their privileges were, as usual, extensive, and seem to have been in a great measure copied from those granted in the case of Maryland. The present occupants could only be considered as squatters; yet as men were much wanted, the utmost encouragement was given to them to remain, while others were invited. Political and personal immunities, more ample than were possessed by the neighbouring colonies, or were satisfactory to the views of some of the proprietors, were not withheld. Berkeley, who brought additional emigrants from Virginia to Albemarle Sound, placed them under Drummond, a prudent and popular governor. A party of planters from Barbadoes, induced to remove to this congenial climate, were settled on Cape Fear river, near the New Englanders, and ruled by Sir John Yeamans, one of their own number. A few ship builders were also obtained from the Bermudas.

In 1665, the proprietors, still in high favour with Charles, obtained a new patent with much larger privileges. Their territory was now, without regard to Spanish claims, extended to the Pacific, while they were empowered to create titles and orders of nobility. This appears to have been preparatory to the formation of what was intended to be a monument of human wisdom,—a constitution for the new colony. It was undertaken by Shaftesbury, the ablest statesman of the age, who employed upon it Locke, the illustrious philosopher; and its object was to transport into the New World the varied ranks and aristocratic establishments of Europe. Two orders of nobility were to be instituted, the higher of landgraves or earls, the lower of caciques or barons, with other provisions totally unfit for a new colony.

and the attempt to enforce it occasioned an insurrection of the people. As Miller, who acted as administrator and collector of the revenue, had not given them satisfaction, they rose in a body, imprisoned him and most of the council, seized the public funds, appointed magistrates and judges, called a parliament, and, in short, took into their hands all the functions of government. Culpepper, the ringleader, went to England to plead their cause, a step which certainly does not seem to indicate consciousness of guilt ; but he was arrested and brought to trial for high treason. Shaftesbury, by his eloquence and popular influence, procured his acquittal, pleading that there had been no regular government in Albemarle, so that these disorders could only be considered as feuds among the several planters.

The proprietors sent out as governor, Seth Sothel, one of their own body, who had previously purchased Lord Clarendon's share, and whose territorial rights would, they hoped, command respect. His sole object was to advance his fortune, at the expense both of the colonists and of his fellow-proprietors. The former soon practised the lesson which they had already learned. They deposed him, seized his person, and were about to send him to England to answer to the owners for the charges brought against him. Sothel preferred to abide the judgment of the assembly themselves ; a circumstance which, joined to the sentence, seems to indicate that his conduct was not extremely atrocious. After finding all the accusations proven, they merely banished him from the colony for a single year, and declared him incapable of ever again holding the office of governor. The proprietors, though troubled at these

stretches of power, yet owning the complaints to be just, and having been themselves wronged, sanctioned the proceedings, and nominated Philip Ludwell as their representative.

Meantime, they were bestowing a more special attention on the southern colony. In 1670, they sent out a considerable number of settlers under William Sayle, who was named governor. He died soon after, and his place was supplied by Sir John Yeamans, once a Barbadoes planter, who had acquired a good reputation in his command at Cape Fear. He was speedily accused, however, of sordid proceedings, in carrying on all the little trade of the colony for his own advantage. Affairs were, in many respects, unsatisfactory. The proprietors, like other similar bodies, already discovered that the colony, instead of a mine of wealth, was a constant drain; they had expended on it upwards of £18,000 without any return, but, on the contrary, had to encounter new demands. They were, therefore, not unwilling to remove Yeamans in order to make room for West, a favourite of the settlers. During his residence of eight years, he enjoyed a popularity rare among transatlantic rulers. The colony flourished; for, besides emigrants sent over by the proprietors, a considerable tide flowed in from various quarters. The poor cavaliers, considering it to have been founded upon their own principles, sought it as a place where they might retrieve their fortunes. A number of Dutch in New York, dissatisfied with their transference to British rule, thought, it scarcely appears for what reason, that they would be more at ease in this new settlement; and some of their countrymen from Europe were induced to follow. The revocation of the edict of

Nantz, and the persecution of the Protestants by Louis XIV., during his bigoted dotage, drove out a large body of most respectable emigrants. A small party proceeded from Ireland, and another from Scotland, under Lord Cardross; but the latter were unfortunate, being nearly all destroyed by the Indians. This influx was considered to afford an inducement for the erection of a city. One was early founded on a high ground, above Ashley River, named Charleston; but afterwards another spot, called Oyster Point, at the junction of that stream with the Cooper, was considered so much more eligible, that site was changed. The choice was happy; and it has since become the chief emporium of the southern states.

West was succeeded, in 1682, by Moreton, and the latter, in 1686, by Colléton, a brother of one of the proprietors, and endowed with the rank of landgrave. Under these governors, the spirit of faction, which had in some degree slumbered, broke forth with extreme violence. Discontents ran so high, that the people, in 1687, elected an assembly expressly to resist whatever the governor should propose; and, in 1690, they passed an act banishing him from the province. Amid this ferment, appeared Seth Sothel, the rejected of North Carolina; and such was the influence of party, that he found no difficulty in occupying the place of his unpopular predecessor, and in calling a parliament, which sanctioned all his proceedings. The proprietors were beyond measure astonished to hear of such a person setting up against them as a leader supported by the people. They sent out the strictest orders for his immediate recall, appointing in his place Philip Ludwell, with instructions, however, to examine and report as to

any real grievances. The chief complaint was found to be against "the fundamental constitutions;" and as there appeared no serious prospect of carrying into execution that famous code, it was, in 1693, finally abrogated. Caciques, landgraves, and barons were swept away, and the labours of Shaftesbury and Locke were given to the winds. It may be observed that James II., on his usual despotic principle, had prepared a *quo warranto* against the charter; but the proprietors, opening a treaty for its surrender, on condition of replacing the funds expended on it, spun out the affair till that monarch became no longer an object of dread.

These arrangements did not fully secure tranquillity; and a new source of dissension was afforded by the numerous body of French Protestant refugees. Most of the original settlers, zealously attached to the church of England, viewed with aversion both their religious and national peculiarities, and refused to admit them to the rights of citizenship. At this treatment they were justly indignant; and disputes rose so high, that the proprietors sent out one of their own body, John Archdale, a Quaker, with full power to investigate and redress grievances. He conducted himself with great prudence, and, though he could not procure for the new comers all the desired privileges, succeeded in greatly allaying their discontent. After remaining a year, he left as his successor Joseph Blake, who steadily pursued the same system, by which, in a few years, the parties were reconciled, and the French admitted to all the rights of citizens.

Blake died in 1700, and was succeeded by Moore, who, two years after, sought to distinguish himself by

the capture of the French capital of St. Augustine. He himself, with the main force, proceeded by sea, while Colonel Daniel, with a party of militia and Indians, marched by land. The latter arrived first, and took possession of the town, obliging the enemy to retreat into the castle; but the governor considered that post so strong, as to render it necessary to send to Jamaica for more artillery. On the appearance, however, of two Spanish ships, he was seized with a panic alleged to be groundless, and precipitately raising the siege, returned by land to Carolina. This repulse was not only very mortifying, but entailed on the colony a heavy debt, which it could ill bear.

In 1706, the Spaniards endeavoured to retaliate, and, aided by their French allies, equipped a considerable armament. Their admiral, Le Feboure, with five ships of war, forthwith summoned the capital; but the governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had, with great spirit, though inadequate means, prepared for defence, sent an indignant defiance. The invader, whose main land-force had not yet arrived, imprudently sent on shore a small detachment, which was immediately attacked and cut off. This success inspired such courage, that Captain Rhett, with six small vessels, sailed against the enemy, who, struck with alarm, immediately retired. Soon after, an additional armament appeared, and a body of troops were landed; but the English, flushed with victory, attacked them with such resolution, that both they and their ships were captured.

After some years of repose, the colony was involved in all the horrors of Indian war; the origin of which is difficult to trace, though the settlers throw the whole

blame upon the natives. It is manifest that they waged it with deep treachery and ferocity, and yet there seems room to suspect that they had heavy wrongs to avenge. The first burst was from the Tuscororas, on the frontier of North Carolina, whose attack against the settlements on the Roanoke was made with the usual secrecy and rapidity, and above a hundred perished before measures of defence could be adopted. This was all that could be done till aid was procured from South Carolina, whence Captain Barnwell, with six hundred militia and three hundred and sixty Indians, penetrated the intervening wilderness, defeated the enemy, and pursuing them to their main fortress, obliged them to surrender. They soon after migrated northwards, and formed a union with the Five Nations.

A more formidable struggle awaited South Carolina. The Indians on its border had long been united with the colonists in alliance and common hostility to the Spaniards. The Yamassees, Creeks, Cherokees, and all the tribes from Cape Fear to the shores of the gulf, amounting to six thousand men, became united in one grand confederacy to exterminate the English name. Their preparations were enveloped as usual in profound secrecy; and, even on the previous evening, when some suspicious circumstances were noticed, they gave the most friendly explanation. In the morning the work of blood commenced in the vicinity of Port Royal, where about ninety of the planters perished; but the people of the place, happily finding a vessel in the harbour, crowded on board, and were conveyed to Charleston. The Indians collected from all sides, and advanced upon that capital; two detachments, which attempted to stop

their progress, were surprised or ensnared, and suffered severely. Craven the governor, however, having mustered twelve hundred men fit to bear arms, succeeded in stopping their progress; upon which, having collected all his strength, and receiving a reinforcement from North Carolina, he marched to the attack of their grand camp. The struggle was long and fierce,—the Indians having stationed themselves in a broken and entangled spot, fitted for their wild manœuvres. At length they were completely defeated, and soon after driven beyond the limits of the colony.

The termination of this contest was immediately followed by violent internal disturbances. The settlers had many grounds of complaint against the proprietors, who had not afforded any pecuniary aid during the late sanguinary contest. At its close the assembly passed acts bestowing the lands whence the Indians had been expelled upon such persons as might choose to occupy them; on the faith of which a party of five hundred emigrated from Ireland. But the proprietary annulling this grant, caused them to be ejected, and the tract divided into baronies for their own benefit. They disallowed other laws, which the colonists were extremely desirous to obtain, and sent orders to the governor to sanction none which had not been previously submitted to themselves. They reposed their entire confidence in Trott, the chief-justice, who was even accused of malversation in his office; but the complaints against him from the people, and even the governor, were disdainfully rejected. This discontent, long fermenting, broke out openly on a report of invasion from the Havana.

In this emergency the assembly refused to vote any

supplies; a bond of union was drawn up, and signed by almost all the inhabitants. They transmitted a proposal to Johnson that he should continue to hold his office in the name of the king; but as he declined the offer, Colonel Moore was elected. The other made some attempts to compel submission, but found his force inadequate. The issue of the whole transaction, however, depended on the view which might be taken by the crown, always disposed to favour any arrangement that might extend its prerogative. The king, being absent in Hanover, had left the government in the hands of a regency, who, on examining the case, decided that the proprietors had forfeited their charter, and ordered proceedings to be instituted for its dissolution. Acting certainly with great promptitude, as if this were already effected, they named Sir Francis Nicholson governor, under a commission from his majesty. That person, distinguished in other stations for his active talents, had been accused of arbitrary maxims; but in Carolina he seems to have laid these aside, and rendered himself extremely acceptable. He made great exertions to provide for religious instruction, and for the diffusion of education. Through an alliance with the Creeks and Cherokees, he secured the frontier, which had been considerably harassed by Indian incursions.

In 1729, the transactions of the proprietors were finally closed by a deed surrendering all their rights into the hands of the crown. They received in return £17,500, with £5000 for arrears of rent amounting to £9000; but Lord Carteret, while resigning all political power, preferred to retain his claim to property in the soil, of which an ample portion was assigned to him

The colonists were gratified by the entire remission of their quit-rents. In 1694, the captain of a vessel from Madagascar, having touched at Carolina, had presented the governor with a bag of rice, which, being distributed among several farmers, throve so remarkably, that it had already become a staple of the settlement; and the privilege was now granted of exporting this article direct to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre. North and South Carolina, too, which in point of fact had always been distinct, and their occupied parts even distant from each other, were now finally declared to be two colonies, each to have its separate governor.

From this era their affairs held a pretty uniform course, diversified only as the character of the successive governors was popular or otherwise. After all that had been done before 1732 for the peopling of Carolina, there remained a large district between the Savannah and the Alatomaha, claimed by Britain, yet completely uninhabited. This disadvantage was more felt from its being bordered, not only by powerful Indian tribes, but by the Spaniards in Florida, and the French in Louisiana; both having claims which, if circumstances favoured, they could plausibly advance. The planters were particularly anxious to have a settlement formed, that might stand like a wall between them and these troublesome neighbours, but were much at a loss for persons who would voluntarily station themselves in a situation so unpleasant. Circumstances arose in England which afforded a prospect of supplying this want.

General Oglethorpe, a soldier, brave, honourable, and humane, moved an inquiry, in 1728, into the treatment and condition of persons confined in the prisons of Eng-

land, and in the following year presented a report upon this subject. It was found that, under the extremely bad management then prevalent, many persons imprisoned for debt or minor offences were treated most tyrannically, deprived of common comforts, and their morals further injured by the associates with whom they were compelled to mingle. Many of them, even if liberated, could not have returned to the world with any prospect of comfort or advantage; and hence it occurred that to them a residence in the new continent might form an extremely desirable change. They could not be fastidious as to the situation, and might there be formed into military colonies, as a barrier to the other states. The conversion and improvement of the Indians entered into this generous plan. It was intrusted to a body of eminent persons, who undertook to act as trustees, not entering, like former associations, into a mercantile speculation for profit, but from philanthropic motives devoting their time and contributions to the object. They were to administer the colony during twenty-one years, after which it was to revert to the crown. It was named Georgia, from the reigning monarch; and Oglethorpe, with whom the whole scheme had originated, undertook to act gratuitously as governor. A general enthusiasm prevailed throughout the nation; large sums were subscribed by benevolent individuals; and parliament, in the course of two years, voted £36,000 for the purpose.

In the end of 1732, Oglethorpe, with a party of a hundred and sixteen, sailed for the new settlement. Having touched on their way at South Carolina, his followers were most hospitably received; and on their arrival, he

made it his first object to conciliate the neighbouring Indians, belonging to the powerful race of the Creeks. His efforts, guided by sincerity and discretion, were crowned with success. In 1734, the town of Augusta was founded on the Upper Savannah, with a view to local trade. During the same year, two successive parties went out, amounting to five or six hundred, of whom one hundred defrayed their own expenses. About one hundred and fifty Highlanders were induced to join the colony, being well fitted for its military objects. A party of Moravians also arrived, whose industrious habits were likely to be of great advantage; and by a report of the trustees in 1740, it appeared that two thousand five hundred emigrants had been sent out, at an expense of £80,000. John and Charles Wesley, then only known as zealous clergymen, were prevailed upon to accept livings in the colony.

Notwithstanding these promising appearances, and this most zealous support, Georgia did not prosper. The proprietors began with a series of regulations, well meant, indeed, but carried to an extreme, and with little attention to existing circumstances. A complete prohibition was imposed on the introduction of rum, and even on all commercial intercourse with the West Indies. The importation of negroes was forbidden—a measure indignantly endured by the colonists, who saw much wealth accruing to Carolina from their employment. The lands were most injudiciously granted in small lots of twenty-five acres, on condition of military service, and with that view descending only to heirs-male. The settlers soon began to display those faults which, from their previous condition, might have been anticipated. Complaints

were made againts the Wesleys for their extreme rigidity, their peculiar forms of worship, and for giving their confidence to unworthy persons, who made false pretences of piety. Feuds rose so high, that both left the colony. Whitefield, founder of the rival sect of Methodists, went out in 1740, with a particular view to establish an orphan asylum, which did not succeed; but his zealous and eloquent, though somewhat rude addresses produced a strong impression, and were supposed to effect considerable good.

Affairs were rendered still further critical by the Spanish war, which, after long irritation and petty aggression, broke out in 1738. Oglethorpe determined to attack St. Augustine, the capital of Florida. Great preparations were made for this enterprise; Virginia and the Carolinas furnished a regiment, as well as £120,000 currency; and an Indian force undertook to assist. The governor, who was thus enabled to make an invasion with two thousand men, reduced two successive forts; but the castle of St. Augustine itself was found too strongly fortified to allow a reasonable hope of reducing it unless by blockade. This he expected to accomplish by the aid of a strong flotilla, which came to co-operate with him. It proved, however, a very discouraging service for his undisciplined warriors; and the Indians, disgusted by an expression which escaped him, of horror at their cruelty, went off. The Highlanders, his best troops, were surprised, and a number cut to pieces; while the militia lost courage, broke the restraints of discipline, and deserted in great numbers. It proved impossible to prevent the enemy from procuring a reinforcement, and large supply of provisions. In short, matters were in so adverse a

state, that he had no alternative but to raise the siege, and return with his armament seriously shattered, and his reputation impaired.

The Spaniards, two years after, in 1742, attempted to retaliate, and Monteano, governor of St. Augustine, with thirty-two vessels and three thousand men, advanced to attack Frederica. Oglethorpe's force was very inadequate, and the aid from the north both scanty and very slow in arriving; yet he acted so as completely to redeem his military character. By skilfully using all the advantages of his situation, he kept the enemy at bay; then by various stratagems, conveyed such an exaggerated idea both of his actual force and expected reinforcements, that they ultimately abandoned the enterprise, without having made one serious attack.]

Georgia was thus delivered from foreign dangers; but she continued to suffer under her internal evils. The colonists complained that absurd regulations debarred them from rendering their productions available, and kept them in poverty. Numbers removed to South Carolina, where they were free from restraint; and the Moravians, being called upon to take arms contrary to their principles, departed for Pennsylvania. Great efforts were made, as formerly in Virginia, to produce silk, but for the same reasons, without any success. In 1752, the twenty-one years had expired; and the trustees, finding that their well meant endeavours had produced only misery and discontent, relinquished the charge. Georgia became a royal colony, and the people were left at full liberty to use all the means, good and bad, of advancing themselves; lands were held on any tenure that best pleased them; negroes and rum

were imported without restriction; and a free intercourse was opened with the West Indies. Thenceforth it was on a footing with South Carolina, and advanced with equally rapid steps, but exhibiting a somewhat ruder character.

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL AFFAIRS OF THE COLONY TO THE PEACE IN 1763.

THE colonies, of which we have thus delineated the origin and progress, down to the close of the war in 1763, were altogether unconnected. Each had been founded on a separate basis, by distinct and even hostile classes. Between neighbouring communities, where no sentiment of unity reigns, jealousies almost inevitably arise; and these were aggravated by boundary disputes and other contending claims. Some governors, particularly Nicholson, recommended the union of several of them under one head; but these were men of arbitrary temper, who urged this measure on the home administration as a mode of extending the power of the crown, and keeping down the increasing spirit of independence. Such communications, when they transpired, heightened not a little the antipathy already felt to the proposed measure.

There was, however, one object by which all the colonies were roused to a most zealous co-operation. It might have seemed a hardship that the successive wars between Britain and France should be transferred to their rising settlements beyond the Atlantic; but the inhabitants by no means felt it as such, and required only permission, in order to rush with fury against each other. The old national antipathy was remarkably strong

in this ruder society; the difference of creed made the contests be viewed somewhat as religious wars; and the contrast between an absolute and a free government appeared peculiarly striking on the English side, where maxims almost republican prevailed. At first the colonies followed in the footsteps of the mother-country; but as their magnitude and importance increased, the flame arose among themselves, and was thence communicated to Europe.

Even so early as 1629, Sir David Kirke, having equipped a fleet, surprised and took Quebec; but that infant settlement, to which little value was then attached, was restored at the peace in 1632. A severe collision, however, arose in consequence of the support afforded by the English from New York to the Five Nations, in the long and terrible war waged by them against the French in Canada. It was mostly carried on by skirmishes, in a covert manner, and without regular sanction from either power. But after the Revolution of 1688, open hostilities ensued between the two nations, and Britain again determined to strike a blow against the enemy's power beyond the Atlantic. Acadia was subdued with little resistance, and Sir William Phipps, with thirty-four vessels and a large body of troops, reached Quebec. He did not, however, display the requisite promptitude; and through the able defence made by Count Frontenac, was obliged to re-embark without effecting his object. An attempt against Montreal was also defeated by the ability of Des Callieres. The contest was suspended by the peace of 1697, when, to the great discontent of the inhabitants, Acadia was restored to France. During the war of the Spanish succession,

two expeditions, the one in 1704, and the other in 1707, failed in achieving the conquest of that province; but General Nicholson, in September, 1710, finally annexed it, under the title of Nova Scotia, to the British crown. He proceeded afterwards to make a grand effort against the Canadian capital, which was frustrated by the shipwreck of his squadron near the Seven Islands. Still the force of England was considered so superior, that she must ultimately have triumphed, had not the contest been terminated in 1713 by the peace of Utrecht. France retained Canada, but was obliged to cede Acadia and Newfoundland; also to make over to Britain her claims to the sovereignty of the Five Nations.

A long peace now followed, and though jealousies continued, no open hostilities ensued till 1744, when the war, which Britain had for several years waged with Spain, was extended to France. The latter power, though deprived of Nova Scotia by the treaty of Utrecht, had retained Cape Breton, and erected upon it Louis-berg, which, by an expenditure of £1,200,000, was supposed to have been rendered one of the strongest of modern fortresses. The New England colonies, however, having, with characteristic ardour, determined to attack it, raised four thousand men, and placed them under the command of Colonel Pepperel, who, on the 30th of April, 1745, took the enemy somewhat by surprise. Being seconded by the fleet under Admiral Warren, he, in seven weeks, reduced this grand bulwark of their power in America; and though they made several vigorous efforts, they did not succeed in retrieving this disaster. Nevertheless, at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the colonists had the mortification to see the

fruits of their valour snatched from them, Cape Breton being restored in exchange for some continental advantages, which were more highly prized by the British king and ministry. They expressed the deepest discontent, and hesitated not even to charge the government at home with a desire to maintain the power of Louis, in order to check the spirit of internal independence.

The French, meantime, had become inspired with an eager desire to extend their North American possessions. In virtue of certain voyages made in the preceding century by Marquette and La Salle, they claimed the whole range of the Mississippi, by attaining which, their settlements in Canada and New Orleans would be formed into one continuous territory, thus hemming in the British colonists in a manner to which they were by no means disposed to submit. The banks of the Ohio became the debateable ground on which this collision mainly took place.

The British were so confident in their right, that in 1749, an association was formed of merchants in London, combined with Virginia planters, called the Ohio Company, who received from the crown a grant of six hundred thousand acres on that river. Similar donations were made to other parties, who could not, with any degree of safety, turn them to account, in the face of such pretensions as the French advanced and showed a determination to support. These assumed so menacing a character, that Mr. Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, under instructions from home, judged it necessary to send a commissioner to examine the state of affairs on that frontier, to confer with the French commander, and urge him to desist from farther encroachment. This

little expedition is memorable from the command being intrusted to Major George Washington, a youth of twenty-one, whose steady and intelligent character already pointed him out for this delicate employment. He departed on the 31st of October, 1753, and after many difficulties in travelling five hundred and sixty miles across a rugged part of the Alleghany, arrived at the station of M. de St. Pierre. He was received with all the national courtesy and urbanity; but after two days an answer was returned, couched in respectful yet determined language. The commandant described himself as only a military man, who could decide nothing on such an application, which ought to be addressed to the Marquis Duquesne, governor of Canada, under whom he acted, and whose orders he was bound to obey. Moreover, the inferior officers at a frontier post, after an evening entertainment given to the major, becoming heated with wine, announced, even with an oath, their absolute intention to take possession of the Ohio. Washington had observed on his way the position at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela, termed the two Forks of that river, and strongly recommended that it should be fortified. He held communication with a number of Indians, who expressed a friendly disposition to his countrymen, and a jealousy of the manner in which they saw the French occupying their country. But others had been gained over by that nation, a party of whom made a fruitless attempt to intercept his return.

The intelligence obtained on this occasion convinced the governor that nothing but force would enable Britain to maintain her jurisdiction over this territory. His object was now to raise an adequate body of troops; but

the Assembly of Virginia showed no disposition to come forward, and were with great difficulty induced to vote £10,000. Carolina contributed £12,000. Only three companies, however, mustered under Washington, now colonel, who soon received the alarming intelligence, that a party under Captain Trent, employed by the Ohio Company in erecting a fort on the river, had been obliged to capitulate, obtaining only liberty to retire. The French had also anticipated their rivals by commencing a fort at the junction of the Ohio Forks, which, after their governor-general, they named Duquesne.

Washington now urgently called on the different states to contribute to the common defence, pointing out the necessity of strong reinforcements; and meantime his enterprising spirit impelled him to push forward, even with his small numbers, hoping at least to pave the way for a larger force. On approaching, he was informed that a French detachment of fifty men were marching towards him with apparently hostile intentions, who soon afterwards encamped at a small distance. Advancing with some chosen troops and a party of Indians, he attacked them by surprise, and speedily defeated them. Jumonville, the commander, and ten of his men, were killed, while twenty-two were wounded. A loud clamor was raised on this occasion by the French, who declared that their officer was merely the bearer of a summons, and that his death was an act of positive assassination. Washington never deigned to reply to this charge; but his friends have observed, that the great numbers of the French, and their mode of approaching, did not at all accord with the representation of their being political envoys, but, coupled with the previous violence, gave

every ground to believe that they intended to make good their pretensions by force.

Three additional companies had been placed under Colonel Fry, who was advancing to take the command, but died suddenly on the way. They were then forwarded to Washington, whose force they did not augment to more than four hundred. But even with this small body he advanced upon Fort Duquesne, when intelligence arrived that an army of eighteen hundred French and four hundred Indians were preparing to attack him. He had now no choice but to fall back to a spot called the Great Meadows, where he began to erect a fort named, from the circumstances, *Necessity*. The ditch, however, was not completed, when, on the 3d of July, M. de Villiers arrived with nearly one thousand men, and commenced an attack which continued from eleven in the morning till eight in the evening, without any decisive result. The French commander then sent proposals for a capitulation; they were rejected, but during the night terms were agreed upon, which, under the trying circumstances of the besieged, were considered honourable. The British were allowed to march out with all the honours of war, retaining their baggage, and every thing except their artillery; being also assured of a safe retreat into the low country. The conduct of the campaign was on the whole highly approved, and a vote of thanks passed by the House of Burgesses to Colonel Washington and his officers.

By this time the colonists began seriously to feel the absence of some general co-operation against this formidable enemy. Those who stood most immediately exposed to attack, complained that upon them alone was

thrown the whole burden of repelling it ; and the government at home were at length induced to recommend a convention of delegates being held at Albany, to concert with each other, and with the chiefs of the Six Nations, a plan of united defence. The New England states, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New York, complied with the advice, and appointed deputies, who assembled in June, 1754 ; when the lead was taken by Benjamin Franklin, who ranked already as one of the most intelligent and distinguished citizens of America. Rising from an humble station, he had acquired a paramount influence in his own state of Pennsylvania, and been appointed postmaster-general for the colonies. He soon submitted to his colleagues a very bold and important project for the union of the colonies, which, however, was rejected both by them and the home government.

The British ministry were, however, determined to support their cause with the utmost vigour. Warm remonstrances were made to the court of France, which lavished in return pacific professions and even promises ; but they were directly contradicted by actions, which left no doubt of a firm determination to maintain her lofty pretensions. It was resolved, therefore, to employ force in driving the French from their present advanced position ; and in the beginning of 1755, General Braddock, with two regiments, was despatched from Ireland to co-operate with the Virginia forces in obtaining the command of the Ohio. His arrival excited enthusiastic hopes, and at Alexandria he met the governors of five colonies assembled to concert the general plan of a campaign. Washington at the solicitation of Braddock consented to act as his aide-de-camp, in the character of a

volunteer. The main body being detained for want of supplies at the earnest entreaty of Washington, it was determined to press forward with twelve hundred well-appointed men, and that Colonel Dunbar, with the heavy artillery and baggage, should remain behind. Washington, however, was dismayed to find that Braddock, though a brave and experienced officer, was wedded to the forms of regular European warfare. Instead of causing his troops to push briskly across the intervening obstacles, he employed them in levelling every hillock, and throwing bridges over every brook. Again, though advised to accept the offered aid of some Indians, at least for scouring the woods and guarding against surprise, he despised such auxiliaries, and treated them so coldly that they quickly dropped off. Washington, being unfortunately seized with a violent illness, was unable by his utmost efforts to keep up with the army, but rejoined it on the evening of the 8th of July, within fifteen miles of Fort Duquesne, against which this laborious movement was directed. The next morning they forded the Monongahela, and were passing a rough tract covered with wood, which led direct to the fort, when suddenly a destructive fire was poured in upon the front, while another rapidly followed on the right flank. The assault was continued by an enemy who remained invisible, closely hidden behind trees and ravines. The vanguard fell back in a confusion which soon became general. Their only hope would now have been to quit their ranks, rush behind the bushes, and fight man to man with their assailants; but Braddock insisted on forming them into platoons and columns, in order to make regular discharges, which struck only the trees.

After some time spent in these fruitless efforts, with the hidden fire still unabated, a general flight ensued, that of the regulars being the most precipitate and shameful, while the only stand was made by the Virginia militia. The officers in general remained on the field while there seemed any hope of rallying their troops, and, consequently, out of eighty-six engaged, sixty-three were killed or wounded; the commander himself mortally. Of the privates, seven hundred and fourteen fell; the rout was complete, and the more disgraceful, in that it was before an inferior enemy, whose number did not exceed eight hundred and fifty, of whom only two hundred and fifty were Europeans. During this disastrous day, Washington displayed an admirable courage and coolness. The remnant of the army retreated precipitately into the low country, whither the French considered themselves too weak to pursue them.

Meantime, a militia force of about five thousand men was assembled at Albany, for an expedition against the important fortress of Crown Point, on the borders of Canada. The commander was William Johnson. Having reached the southern extremity of Lake George, and learned that the enemy were erecting an additional fort at Ticonderoga, he resolved to push forward, hoping to reduce it before the works were completed. Intelligence, however, was soon received, which obliged him to stand on the defensive. Baron Dieskau, an able commander, had carried out from France a large reinforcement, and having added to them a considerable body of Indians, was advancing to attack the British settlements. He at first proceeded towards Oswego, but on learning the advance of Johnson, hastened to direct his operations

against him. The latter had fortified his camp, but through defective information, sent forward an advanced party of one thousand men, who at the distance of about three miles unexpectedly met the enemy, and were driven back with great loss. Dieskau then marched forward to assault the main camp, which he seemed to have a fair prospect of carrying; but Johnson received him with the utmost firmness, and opening a brisk fire, caused the Indians and militia to fall back. The French regulars maintained the contest several hours with great vigour, and the British general was even obliged by a severe wound to leave the command to Lyman, his second. The final result however was, that the assailants were completely repulsed, with the loss of nearly one thousand men. Dieskau himself was mortally wounded and made prisoner; and his retreating forces, being suddenly assailed by a small detachment from New York, abandoned their baggage, and took to flight. It was thought by many, that if Johnson had followed up his victory by an attack on Crown Point, or at least on Ticonderoga, he would have succeeded; but he did not choose to hazard the laurels already gained.

The war which had thus for some time been covertly waged between the two nations, was, in 1756, openly declared; and increased exertions were made on both sides. In a council of governors held at New York, three expeditions were planned, in which twenty-one thousand men were to be employed. Abercromby and Lord Loudon, however, who successively went out as commanders-in-chief, did not possess the requisite energy; and discontents arose among the provincial officers, from being compelled to take rank under the regulars. The

French force, meantime, was united under Montcalm, an officer of high spirit; and while the British were deliberating, he hastened forward and captured the two forts at Oswego, which, as they protected Lake Ontario, formed their principal bulwark in that quarter. In the following year, he marched against Fort William Henry, on Lake George, commenced the siege in the beginning of August, and compelled it, in six days, to surrender. The defenders stipulated to march out with the honours of war, and rejoin their countrymen; but these terms were completely violated by the Indians, who barbarously massacred a great number of them. Hitherto this war had been an almost continued series of disaster and disgrace; and in Europe similar results were seen to follow the feeble measures of the cabinet. But the spirit of the nation, being now roused, forced into power William Pitt, perhaps the most energetic war-minister who has ever swayed the British councils. Adverse to military operations in Germany, he turned his main attention to the North American colonies, and by vigorously announcing his resolution, drew forth from themselves strenuous exertions. Lord Loudon was superseded by Amherst, a more able commander; while the most active part was assigned to Wolfe, a young officer, in whom the discerning eye of Pitt discovered a rising military genius. It being determined to strike the first blow against Louisburg, considered the centre of French power in that quarter, an expedition sailed against it in May, 1758, and by the end of July, chiefly through his exertions, it was compelled to surrender. This success was followed up next year by a more formidable attempt, under the same commander, against Quebec, capital

of New France. On the 13th of September, 1759, a splendid victory, dearly purchased indeed by the death of that gallant officer, placed the city in the undisputed possession of Britain.

After this triumph, France could with difficulty maintain her posts in the interior. In 1758, General Abercromby, with 16,000 regulars and provincials, marched against Crown Point and Ticonderoga. The first skirmish was marked by the fall of Lord Howe, a young officer of high promise, and much beloved in America. The commander, having soon after made a premature assault on the last-mentioned fort, was repulsed with considerable loss, when he raised the siege and precipitately retreated. Colonel Bradstreet, however, at the head of a detachment, captured Fort Frontignac, a post of some consequence on Lake Ontario.

Meantime Fort Duquesne had been abandoned by the French. In 1759, General Amherst, co-operating with Wolfe, marched against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which were evacuated on his approach. The Marquis de Vaudreuil was obliged, on the 8th of September, 1760, to sign a capitulation for the city of Montreal, as well as for the whole of Canada. By the peace of Paris, France ceded it and all the adjacent countries. Spain was also obliged to yield Florida; and Britain acquired a vast, compact, and flourishing empire, reaching from the arctic zone to the Gulf of Mexico.

CHAPTER X.

REVOLUTION, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE triumphant issue of the contest with France seemed to have placed the British empire in America on a foundation at once solid and permanent. The possession of the whole eastern coast, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean, secures it almost completely against any other European power, without whose support the natives could make only a very feeble and desultory resistance. The population, the wealth and advancing commerce of these colonies, inspired sanguine and indeed chimerical hopes of future advantage. They had co-operated most cordially, by strenuous efforts and great sacrifices, in the arduous contest waged on their soil by Britain with her powerful rival; and the exultation of common success cemented still more closely the mutual ties. The most friendly feelings appeared to be mutually cherished; and nothing indicated the approach of that crisis which was to rend the empire assunder, and to begin the separation between the Old and the New Worlds.

In Great Britain, meanwhile, the light under which the colonies were viewed underwent a material alteration. The budget of 1764 exhibited an expenditure hitherto unprecedented, leaving a deficiency of about three millions, which was with difficulty supplied by

temporary resources and by encroachment on the sinking fund. Successive changes in the ministry had raised to its head George Grenville, an honest statesman, of great political knowledge and indefatigable application; but his mind, according to the able view of his character drawn by Burke, could not extend beyond the circle of official routine, and was unable to estimate the result of untried measures. He saw only the emptiness of the British exchequer, the capability of the Americans to pay a certain revenue, and the supposed unquestionable right to levy it.

Under these views, the minister, on the 10th of March 1764, introduced a series of resolutions, asserting the right and expediency of requiring America to contribute to the general exigencies of the empire, and specifying a stamp-duty as an eligible mode. These resolutions, being transmitted to America, excited the strongest and most hostile feeling; and the colonial assemblies almost unanimously advanced the claim of having the sole right of imposing taxes on their fellow-citizens. They maintained, that recent duties on imported goods had materially encroached on this right, which the proposed act would entirely extinguish, and thus reduce them completely to the condition of slaves. The assembly of Massachusetts, however, after passing resolutions to the full extent of this principle, were induced by Mr. Hutchinson so to modify them as to rest their opposition solely on the ground of expediency. The other states, particularly Virginia and New York, took also a decided part, and petitions of the same tenor were forwarded from many of them to Great Britain. Dr. Franklin, already a highly distinguished person, appeared

in London as agent for Pennsylvania. He and the others endeavoured to impress strongly upon the minister the hopelessness of the Americans ever submitting to this arbitrary mode of taxation, but all their exertions were without effect.

Mr. Grenville, early in February, 1765, brought his Stamp Act again before parliament. Voices, few indeed, but loud, were now raised against it. General Conway and Alderman Beckford denied the right of taxing America: Colonel Barre, with others, condemned it only as highly inexpedient, and even unjust, as long as we retained the monopoly of her trade. The act, however, passed in the Commons by a majority of two hundred and fifty to fifty, and in the Lords with scarcely any opposition. The petitions had been generally rejected, on account of their denying the parliamentary right of taxation; that of New York was so intemperate, that no one dared to present it. The act received the royal assent on the 22d of March, though it was not to take effect till November following.

Virginia had always been an aristocratic colony, and hitherto considered peculiarly loyal; but her opulent planters now appeared animated by a most daring spirit of independence. The assembly being then in session, Patrick Henry, an eminent lawyer, brought forward a series of resolutions against the proposed measure, supported by a speech, in which he said, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III."—being interrupted by loud cries of treason, he added,—“may profit by their example.” The resolutions were modified, and different versions are given of those finally adopted; but they certainly denied, in the most unquali-

fied terms, the right of taxation claimed. Similar sentiments flew like lightning through the other states, which had at first displayed some degree of apathy. The most momentous step was taken by the assembly of Massachusetts, which, on the 6th of June, 1766, circulated among the others the proposition for a general congress, to meet at New York, and arrange in concert the means of averting the threatened evil. Nine colonies responded to this call, the others being prevented chiefly by the difficulty of convoking their assemblies. The deputies from Boston, on their arrival, waited upon the governor, and, representing their meeting as regular, informed him of its object and nature. He warned them against it as quite unconstitutional, and which could in no shape be sanctioned; yet without attempting to obstruct the proceedings. In a series of fourteen resolutions they denounced the injustice and ruinous consequences of their being taxed without being represented; a privilege which, from their distance, they declared it impossible for them to enjoy. They did not intimate any willingness to raise a revenue themselves, but maintained that the great advantages derived by Britain from the monopoly of American commerce formed an ample contribution. In an address to the throne, and petitions to both houses of parliament, these sentiments were forcibly expressed; yet they declared that their connexion with the empire formed their greatest happiness and security, and that its harmonious maintenance was the object of their most ardent desire. These documents were signed by only six commissioners, of whom Mr. Ruggles of Massachusetts, though chairman, was not one; while others had authority only to report to their state assemblies.

All those bodies, however, are said to have ultimately approved the proceedings; and this first united act of the colonies against the mother-country bore certainly a most portentous aspect.

But the dreaded crisis arose when the first cargo of stamped paper was landed upon the American shores. It was followed by disturbances, of the most serious character, in Boston, New York, and Rhode Island. At the same time, combinations were proposed for discontinuing the use of all British manufactures.

In England, meanwhile, affairs took a favourable turn for the colonists, through circumstances wholly independent of the merits of the question. From certain causes, an account of which falls not within our range of inquiry, ministerial affairs were in a very unsettled state. A turn of the political wheel brought into power the Marquis of Rockingham, a nobleman professing principles decidedly liberal. The colonial department was intrusted to General Conway, who had stood forward as the zealous advocate of the Americans. His views were seconded by petitions from London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle, Glasgow, and other great commercial towns, deprecating the loss of their lucrative commerce.

The ministers, after a good deal of consideration, determined to bring in a bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act, combined with a declaration of the power of Britain to bind the colonies *in all cases whatsoever*. This pointed expression, meant to soothe the opposite party, appeared to imply the power of taxation, and was indeed so explained by Conway, though as one only to be exercised in extreme cases. Yet very great difficulty was found

in carrying it through the houses. In the Commons the minority was one hundred and sixty-seven to two hundred and seventy-five; in the Lords, seventy-one to one hundred and five. Thirty-three of the latter joined in a protest, stating, that after the declaration already made, "such a submission of King, Lords, and Commons, in so strange and unheard-of a contest," would amount to an entire surrender of British supremacy.

The news of this repeal were received in the colonies with gratitude and satisfaction; and they passed over the declaratory portion of the act, as merely intended to save the honour of the British legislature. The Assembly of Massachusetts passed a vote of thanks to the king, to whom the house of burgesses in Virginia voted the erection of a statue. The greatest difficulty respected compensation to the sufferers by the disturbances, which was demanded in mild but urgent terms by General Conway. Though not absolutely repelled, great backwardness was shown in fulfilling it, especially in Massachusetts, where complaints were made that Governor Bernard made the requisition in a more peremptory manner than his despatches had authorized. After long delay the measure was agreed to, but combined with a general pardon to all concerned in the riots, a proceeding considered by the government as wholly irrelevant and beyond their jurisdiction. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the compensation was at length every where adjusted. A new clause in the Mutiny Act, however, by which it was required that the troops sent out should be furnished not only with quarters but with beer, salt, and vinegar, was represented as only a disguised form of taxation. In New York, where it came first into

operation, the assembly refused to issue orders for its enforcement.

In May, 1767, Mr. Townshend introduced a bill into parliament, imposing a duty on tea, glass, paper, and painters' colours, exported from England to America. The bill passed rapidly through both houses, and on the 29th of June received the royal assent. By another act, resident commissioners of customs were established in the colonies, and other regulations made for the more strict collection of the revenue.

On intelligence of these acts being received amongst the Americans, all the elements of opposition were again in movement. A number of publications, particularly Mr. Dickinson's "Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer," taught the people to regard them as a decided attack on their liberties. The general assembly of Massachusetts, having met in January, 1768, drew up a petition to the king, asserting in decided though not violent terms, the right of not being taxed without their own consent. They took the more obnoxious measure of sending a circular, embodying the same sentiments, to the assemblies of the other colonies, inviting their co-operation. This last step excited the utmost jealousy in the British ministers, who instructed Governor Bernard to call upon them to rescind their resolution, and, in case of non-compliance, to dissolve them. The house, however, in June, 1768, by a vote of ninety-two to seventeen, adhered in the most positive manner to these proceedings; when their immediate dissolution followed. The government sent a counter circular to the other assemblies, warning them to beware of the dangerous and factious conduct of Massachusetts. It failed, however, to pre-

vent a cordial concurrence of all the leading bodies, several of whom repelled with vehemence the attempt to dictate to them, or to control their proceedings.

At Boston, meantime, fresh grounds of irritation continually arose. The commissioners of customs arrived, and one of their officers was placed on board a sloop belonging to Mr. Hancock, a zealous patriot, laden with wines from Madeira. The functionary, on attempting to exercise his duties, was confined in the cabin, and the whole cargo was landed during the night. The vessel was in consequence condemned and seized; upon which the people rose in tumult, burned a custom-house boat, and compelled the commissioners to flee for safety on board the Romney ship of war. The assemblies strongly condemned these proceedings, inviting even the government to prosecute; but there appeared so little prospect of obtaining either witnesses or juries who would convict, that no such attempt was made.

The agitation excited by this event was heightened by another, which was in a great degree its consequence. Two regiments were ordered from New York to be quartered at Boston. When the troops arrived, the council and inhabitants refused to take any steps for their accommodation, and the governor was obliged to encamp part on the common, and assign to some, quarters in the market-hall and statehouse; positions that greatly aggravated the odium with which they were regarded.

Another important step to which the Americans were now impelled was an agreement for the non-importation of British goods. This, however, was accomplished with great difficulty, the people being thereby deprived of nearly all the conveniences and luxuries of life; while

the merchants, the most active opponents of the mother-country, were threatened with ruin. The proposition, after being suggested, lay some time dormant, nor, till August, 1768, was it fully determined upon, even in Massachusetts. Virginia next followed the example, which Lord Bottetourt, the governor, vainly endeavoured to prevent, by dissolving the assembly. In this measure Washington took an active part, and his confidential letters intimate that he already contemplated a resort to arms as inevitable. Other colonies were induced to join, some of whom were influenced only by a threat from the rest of discontinuing all communication.

In the beginning of 1769, these proceedings being brought under the view of the British parliament, excited in a great majority the most decided reprobation. Both houses passed a series of resolutions declaring the pretension of not being bound by the acts of the legislature "illegal, unconstitutional, and derogatory of the rights of the crown and parliament of Great Britain." The circular letter of the Massachusetts assembly, the assemblage and proceedings of the Boston convention, were characterized as daring insults on his majesty's authority, and audacious usurpations of the powers of government. In an address to the king, the Lords assured him of support in maintaining the laws in Massachusetts Bay, and prayed information respecting all persons accused of treason in the said colony, that they might be dealt with according to the act 35 Henry VIII., which directs such to be brought to England, and tried under a special commission. The resolution and address, when brought down to the Commons, encountered a warm opposition. Governor Pownall, intimately ac-

quainted with the colonies, and actuated seemingly by patriotic motives, strongly advised ministers to pause, and do nothing to inflame the Americans, whom he described as sincerely attached to the mother-country, yet jealous in the extreme of those liberties for which their ancestors had made such sacrifices. It was urged that this obsolete statute had been intended merely for British subjects resident on the French coast, to whom it was a boon, and that it could not without extreme hardship be applied to countries beyond the ocean. Yet the resolution was passed by one hundred and sixty-one to sixty-five.

At this time, however, another entire change took place in official arrangements, when Lord North began his long and eventful career. Almost every new minister had opened his career by concession to the provincials; and one of Lord North's temper was not likely to form an exception. The merchants, too, who were beginning to suffer severely by the non-importation proceedings, petitioned earnestly in favour of the colonies. The exports, which in 1768, had amounted to £2,378,000, of which £132,000 was in tea, had fallen in 1769, to £1,634,000, the tea being only £44,000. On the 5th of March, 1770, his lordship proposed to withdraw the duties recently imposed. He retained only that on tea, as an assertion of the British right of taxation. This bill was passed by a majority of two hundred and four to one hundred and forty-two. On the 5th of March, 1770, a party of soldiers being insulted by the townsmen of Boston, discharged their pieces, when several of the latter were either killed or wounded. The excitement thus caused may be easily imagined, and Captain Preston,

the commander, as well as several of the soldiers, were brought to trial; on which occasion Mr. Quincy and Mr. Adams, two of the most zealous patriots, actuated by a sincere regard to justice, undertook the defence. The accused were honourably acquitted, it having been proved that the officer had made active exertions for preventing the catastrophe. Such urgent representations, however, were now made by the council and the citizens, that the commander agreed to remove the troops, quartering them in the castle and other adjacent places.

This irritation was greatly heightened by an incident which occurred in London. Dr. Franklin, residing there as colonial agent, became by some means possessed of certain letters written by Governor Hutchinson, and Oliver, the lieutenant-governor, to Mr. Whately, a secretary of the treasury. They contained a strong reprobation of the conduct of the democratic leaders, representing them as men destitute of property and character, and who must be put down by coercive measures. The expression occurred, "There must be an abridgment of what are called English liberties;" and Oliver recommended a change in the system of allowing the council to be nominated by the members of assembly. Franklin immediately transmitted these to Mr. Cushing, speaker to that house, in which the most violent ferment was immediately kindled. A committee waited upon the governor, who hesitated not to own himself the author, though he declared them quite private and confidential; upon which the assembly prepared a petition for the immediate removal of him and his lieutenant, which was transmitted to the doctor, who undertook to present and second it. He was allowed a full hearing before the

privy council, after three weeks preparation, when the charge was pronounced groundless, vexatious, and scandalous, and the governors acquitted of all blame. On this occasion Franklin was taunted in the severest terms by Mr. Wedderburne, solicitor-general, for the breach of faith of which he must have been guilty in procuring and publishing these letters. It seemed, indeed, difficult, wholly to acquit him, though he might urge the public principle, *salus populi suprema lex*; and it has since been stated that a Dr. Williamson had the blame or merit of procuring them for him. He was dismissed, however, from the situation of postmaster-general of America. Governor Hutchinson was soon after recalled, though professedly without any blame, and General Gage nominated in his room.

Meantime, the other colonies were not undisturbed. The Gaspee, a revenue schooner stationed at Rhode Island, was seized in the night by a band from Providence, and burnt with all her stores. A special commission, appointed to inquire into the matter, and try the offenders, found it impossible to procure any evidence. The legislature of Virginia were alarmed by the rumor, seemingly without foundation, that the plan of transporting the accused to Britain for trial was now to be adopted. In March, 1773, they appointed a standing committee of correspondence and inquiry, with instructions to communicate with the other colonies; a measure which was zealously responded to by Massachusetts, and generally by the rest.

In consequence of the pertinacious and successful exclusion of tea, that article had accumulated in the warehouses of the India Company, occasioning to them great

loss. It was accordingly proposed, that the British duty of a shilling a-pound should be drawn back on the import into America, where one of only threepence was to be imposed. The colonists, who would thus procure it cheaper than the English, might, it was hoped, be gently manœuvred out of the principle for which they so obstinately contended. It was almost madness to renew in any shape a contest in which the government had been so repeatedly worsted; though this was really a small measure to issue in a vast rebellion,—a slender spark to kindle such a mighty conflagration. We must also again reproach the parliamentary friends of America, that they sounded no note of alarm, and this momentous vote passed in the usual silent and unregarded manner.

The intelligence, when it reached the colonies, strongly roused the determination of the popular leaders. They were sensible, as is admitted by all their advocates, that if the tea were once landed and offered for sale at the cheap rate which these arrangements allowed, nothing could prevent its being bought and consumed; a circumstance which by no means indicates a very fervid zeal among the mass of the people. Large vessels, however, were already crossing the Atlantic, laden with this commodity, the introduction of which on so extensive a scale would completely break up their grand principle of non-taxation. They therefore determined to exert their utmost efforts to prevent the landing; and possessing a paramount influence in the mercantile ports, extorted a promise from the consignees to refuse it, and thus oblige the vessels to carry back their lading. Unfortunately, the agents at Boston rejected this demand, and appealed to the governor, who promised protection;

but a mob was quickly collected, their houses were broken into, and themselves compelled to take refuge in Castle William. On the other hand, the governor and custom-house officers even refused to permit the vessels which had arrived to depart without landing the tea. A general meeting of the inhabitants was then called, when resolutions were entered into to oppose such a proceeding; and a guard was appointed, who watched night and day to prevent any portion of the cargo from being sent ashore. Some time after, another great assemblage met at Faneuil Hall, where one party recommended moderate measures; but the majority discovered a violent spirit, and some undoubtedly desired to urge on steps which might issue in a total rupture. Mr. Quincy warned them that a spirit was now necessary, different from any hitherto displayed; they were advancing to "measures which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle this country ever saw." The captain, who now sought to extricate himself from the affair, was allowed to make a last application to the governor for permission to depart; but having returned and reported a refusal, the meeting separated. Immediately after, the harbour was thronged by a vast multitude, a certain number of whom, disguised as Mohawk Indians, went on board the ships, took full possession of them, and deliberately emptied the whole of their cargoes into the sea.

This outrage hurried affairs to a crisis. On the intelligence arriving in England, the determination was immediately formed to proceed to extreme measures.

The famous Boston Port Bill passed without a division in the House of Commons. In the Lords, however,

it encountered a stronger opposition from certain noblemen of great eminence and talent, particularly Rockingham, Shelburne, and Richmond; but the debates have not been preserved, and it passed finally without any protest.

However severe this measure, it seems not improbable that, had the minister stopped there, affairs might yet have been adjusted. Unhappily, the recollection of the advices of Bernard and Hutchinson, the long and obstinate opposition of the Massachusetts government, the recent outrage, doubtless supported by some of its members, impelled to a determination of proceeding farther, and divesting Boston of those privileges, certainly ample, which it had hitherto enjoyed. The town meetings were to be prohibited, unless with the consent of the governor, who was also to have the appointment of all civil officers, except the supreme judges. On the suggestion of Lord George Germain, who warmly seconded the motion, the council was to be nominated solely by the crown, and juries to be chosen in a less popular manner. All the advocates of America, including Colonel Barre, and others who had acquiesced in the first bill, encountered the present with decided hostility. The opposition divided against it, though mustering only sixty-four to two hundred and thirty-nine. In the Lords it was resisted with greater energy, and voted against, though only by twenty to ninety-two; but eleven signed a protest.

It was now to be seen how these acts were to be received on the other side of the Atlantic. To soften in some degree the blow, Governor Hutchinson, as already stated, was recalled, though the minister declared that it

was not on account of any blame attached to him. He was succeeded by General Gage, who, at New York, had distinguished himself by discreet and conciliatory conduct. His instructions were to carry out the prescribed measures, if possible, by gentle means, and without calling in the troops, unless in case of necessity. He was directed to transfer his residence to Salem, along with the custom-house, and all the courts that were by law removable. But he arrived at a most inauspicious moment, the Boston port bill having just preceded him, and a town meeting being called to deliberate on its tenor. The ordinary marks of respect were, however, paid, and a hope expressed, which he was obliged to repel, that his government might present a contrast to that of his predecessor. Resolutions were forthwith passed, reprobating the act in the most unmeasured terms; declaring that its impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty, exceeded all their powers of description; and an appeal was made to God and the world. The General Assembly met on the 31st of May, when the governor announced the necessity of adjourning them till the 7th, to meet at Salem. They hastened, however, to nominate a committee of five, inviting the other states to follow the example, and thus form a new congress at Philadelphia. They also passed resolutions exhorting the people to renounce as far as possible the consumption, not only of tea, but of all commodities imported from Great Britain or her colonies. The governor, on learning how they were engaged, sent his secretary to dissolve them; but they kept the door locked till these measures were completed.

The committee, before proceeding on their destination,

prepared a document, to which, not perhaps very suitably, they gave the name of the Solemn League and Covenant. It embodied all the resolutions against commercial intercourse with the mother country, and even with any colony which should not follow their example. General Gage issued a proclamation, denouncing this combination as unlawful, hostile, and traitorous, and ordering the magistrates to apprehend and bring to trial all guilty of signing it; but his orders were disregarded, and the paper numerously subscribed. Even by the end of June, he states, that some sensible and well-affected persons warned him that recourse would be had to arms; still he expressed hopes that so wicked a project would not be executed.

The resolution to resist by force seems now to have been finally adopted; arms and ammunition were collected in various quarters. The people of Boston, meanwhile, exhibited a show of tranquillity, and even of submission; but this studied silence evidently covered designs of deeper import than ever. While pretending to give up their town meetings, they contrived to assemble under various pretexts; and beyond the city, which was overawed by military force, the authority of government entirely ceased. No courts could be held, jurors sworn in, or fines levied, in any part of the province. The governor durst not, in accordance with his instructions, either go to reside at Salem, or transfer thither the custom-house or any of the courts. A provincial congress wielded the whole power, and the friends of government were obliged either to submit, or to seek refuge in the capital. Gage considered it necessary to place a guard, and throw up some works at the neck of land

which joins it to the continent; thereby augmenting the general discontent.

The townsmen of Boston, as they had placed themselves in the front of the contest, and were alone affected by the shutting of the harbour, had felt apprehension as to the degree of support they might receive from the other colonies. The latter, however, as soon as the intelligence reached them, unanimously identified themselves with Massachusetts. Virginia, as usual, took the foremost step. The house of burgesses, being in session, immediately appointed the day of closing the port to be one of fasting and deep humiliation; a proceeding so offensive to the governor, that he at once dissolved the meeting. Yet eighty-one, a great majority, formed themselves into an association, and passed resolutions expressive of strong indignation. They also anticipated Boston in the proposition for a general congress, and early in August, a convention met and nominated six members, among whom was George Washington. The more southern colonies, notwithstanding their remoteness, embraced the cause, if possible, with greater fervour.

The congress, destined to change the face of America, met at Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774. They determined that their deliberations should be secret, that the results should be given to the world as unanimous, and no difference of opinion allowed to transpire. A committee was immediately appointed to report upon the rights violated, the injuries sustained, and the means of redress. Separate ones were afterwards named to prepare addresses to the people of Great Britain, to the king, to the colonists, and to the Canadians.

These documents being submitted to congress, and having undergone some revisal and alteration, were produced to the world. The grievances complained of were chiefly the imposition of taxes by the British parliament, the quartering of troops, and the several acts relating to Massachusetts. Their demand was to be replaced in exactly the same state as at the conclusion of the last war. No mention was introduced of the Pennsylvania conciliatory propositions,—the voluntary grant of a revenue, or compensation to the company. No acknowledgment was made of any errors committed by their countrymen, requiring apology or atonement. They merely undertook to provide for their civil government, for an effective militia, and, in case of war, to exert their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising men. The people of Massachusetts were strictly enjoined not to submit to any act under the new constitution. The time, however, was considered not yet come for resisting by force. They were to make an attempt to gain their objects by a solemn engagement, that, after the 1st of December, 1774, no article should be imported from the mother country or her colonies; and if, by the 10th of September, 1775, their demands were not satisfied, all exports to these quarters should cease. In the petition to the king, their expressions of duty and loyalty were strong, more so than in the first draft, which, in this respect, was considered deficient. To the people of Britain they expressed an ardent desire to maintain the union as their greatest glory and happiness, and to contribute with their utmost power to the welfare of the whole empire. They concluded, however,—“but if you are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport

with the rights of mankind; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, or the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you, that we will never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world."

The intelligence of most of these proceedings had reached Britain before the meeting of parliament in November, 1774. The king's speech announced the violences committed in Massachusetts and countenanced by the other colonies, declaring a resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the authority of the British legislature. This was re-echoed by large majorities in both houses, though under a protest by nine lords, a proceeding very unusual on such occasions. Parliament was soon after prorogued; and ministers do not seem to have formed any fixed resolution, as they made no increase in the votes either for the army or navy. In the course of the recess, however, further intelligence being received, the determination was at length formed to employ coercive measures. As a prelude, Lord North, when the houses met on the 19th of January, 1775, laid before them a large mass of documents received from the governors of the different colonies, and which were submitted to a committee.

On the 20th, proceedings were opened by Lord Chatham, proposing an address to the king for the removal of the troops from Boston. The motion was negatived by sixty-eight to eighteen. His lordship, however, immediately followed it up by a bill for settling the transatlantic troubles. It proposed to renounce the power of

taxation, but to call upon congress to acknowledge the supreme legislative power of Britain, and invite them to make a free grant of a certain annual revenue, to be employed in meeting the charge on the national debt. All the obnoxious acts were then to be repealed. The bill was negatived, though thirty-two against sixty-one voted in its favour.

The minister, meantime, in a committee of the Commons, intimated his plans for coercing the colonies, by sending out an additional force, and by crushing the foreign trade and fisheries of New England. He proposed an address approving these measures, declaring Massachusetts to be in rebellion, and assuring his majesty of full support in maintaining his just rights and those of parliament. After some stormy debates, in which the usual arguments were reiterated, it was carried in both houses; in the lower by two hundred and ninety-six to a hundred and six; in the upper by eighty-seven to twenty-seven; eighteen peers protesting. This was followed, on a royal message, by an additional vote of two thousand seamen, and four thousand four hundred land troops. The minister then brought into the Commons his anti-commercial bill against New England, afterwards extended to the other colonies. It was carried, as usual, by large majorities,—one hundred and eighty-eight to fifty-eight in the one house; seventy-three to twenty-one in the other.

After this series of coercive measures, Lord North, who had occasionally shown some symptoms of relenting, surprised the house by a conciliatory proposition. Its tenor was, that when the assembly in any colony should propose, besides maintaining its own civil government,

to raise a certain revenue, and make it disposable by parliament, it would be proper to forbear imposing any tax unless for the regulation of commerce. The proposal was carried by two hundred and seventy-four to eighty-eight. Mr. Burke then brought forward, and eloquently supported, a series of resolutions, in which, without entering into any question of speculative right, a complete practical concession was made of the points in dispute. Their fate might be easily conjectured, being negatived by two hundred and seventy to seventy-eight. The mercantile interest, however, smarting under the cessation of intercourse, adopted with ardour the cause of the colonists. On the 10th of April, an address was presented to the king by the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, condemning all the late measures against the Americans, and pronouncing their resistance justifiable. A stern answer was returned, expressing astonishment that any subject should be capable of abetting and encouraging such rebellious courses.

Meantime, affairs in America were inevitably hurried on in the course to which they had long been tending. General Gage, who had summoned the Massachusetts Assembly to meet at Salem on the 5th of October, 1774, felt that, in the tumultuary state of the country, he could not with safety repair thither to open it. Learning also that of thirty-six councillors named by him, though twenty-four had at first accepted, the greater number were induced or compelled to resign, he issued a proclamation countermanding the writs; but the members, treating it as illegal, repaired at the time appointed to Salem. There they even went through the form of waiting a day, as if for the governor, and then removed their

sittings to Concord, about twenty miles in the interior. Hence they sent out directions for all the branches of administration, the disciplining of the militia, the retaining of the taxes in the hands of the revenue officers for patriotic purposes, and the collection of arms and ammunition. They remonstrated with Gage on the increase of troops, the fortifying of Boston, and other hostile proceedings; but he repelled their complaints, and warned them that their own meeting was altogether illegal. He had again recourse to a proclamation enjoining that no regard should be paid to their usurped authority; instead of which, his mandates were entirely disregarded, while theirs met with implicit obedience. They adjourned, but met again by appointment at Cambridge, on the 4th of February. They then announced to the people that the tenor of the king's speech, and other information, afforded little prospect of compliance with their reasonable demands; on the contrary, numerous reinforcements were expected to reduce them to ignominious submission. The most strenuous exhortations were therefore employed to induce them to improve their military discipline, and to collect firearms and bayonets.

General Gage had hitherto, probably under instructions from home, avoided every movement which could bring on a collision, and lead to a commencement of actual war. Yet, remaining almost besieged at Boston, he began to experience scarcity of provisions; and an impression was felt, that something must be done to check these extensive preparations, and seize the military stores now collected all over the country. He formed the injudicious plan of sending out secretly small detachments to capture them by surprise. Even if success-

ful, which was not very probable, the adoption of such a scheme must have lowered the impression of British power. If the troops were to march into the country, it should have been in such large bodies as would overpower, and even deter resistance. A small party sent towards Salem were induced to return, owing to the mere obstacles raised by the country people against their march.

The governor, having learned that a considerable magazine of stores had been formed at Concord, determined on an attempt to seize them. He employed a larger force, but trusted still to secrecy and surprise. On the night of the 19th of April, 1775, Colonel Smith began his march, seeking to conceal it by sending forward some horsemen to arrest all travellers on the road. Dr. Warren, from Boston, however, having contrived to transmit previous notice, they had not advanced far when the firing of guns and the ringing of bells were heard, summoning the people to arms. They pushed forward nearly fifteen miles, and at five in the morning reached Lexington, where about a hundred militia were exercising on a green. The events which followed, and form the fatal crisis of this great contest, are involved in a cloud of controversy which will never perhaps be fully cleared away. According to the statement of the Americans, supported even by affidavits, Major Pitcairn, who led the van, galloped up, calling, "Disperse, rebels! throw down your arms and disperse." The soldiers then ran up, huzzaing; some muskets were fired, followed by a general discharge. The English asserted that the summons to disperse was slowly and reluctantly obeyed, and that, meantime, some shots were fired from behind

walls, which, being returned, the contest soon became general.

The troops, who drove the militia before them, proceeding about four miles farther, arrived at Concord; and while the main body were destroying the stores, a detachment was sent forward to occupy two bridges beyond. It was surrounded by the colonists in great numbers, and in a threatening attitude; a firing was commenced, but returned with such vigour, that the party were obliged to fall back upon the main body. The whole then began a retrograde movement to Boston; but the Americans, in increasing numbers, attacked them incessantly on their rear and flanks, firing from houses, trees, and behind walls. The British, accordingly, when they arrived at Lexington, found themselves in a most exhausted state; and it is alleged that they would have been totally destroyed, but for a timely succour. General Gage had sent forward Lord Percy with sixteen companies and two pieces of cannon, who drove back the provincials, and forming a square, protected their countrymen while they lay down to recruit their strength. All together then proceeded to Boston; while the assailants, without attempting to obstruct their march, kept up an incessant fire, both in front and rear, from behind stone fences, which are there very numerous. On their arrival, they found that they had lost sixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-seven missing; while the Americans, who fought mostly from under cover, acknowledged only fifty killed and thirty-eight wounded.

The intelligence of this event excited the utmost enthusiasm throughout Massachusetts, and the whole

country was soon arrayed in a warlike form. The people were studiously assured that a wanton attack had been made; while the degree of success gained by their undisciplined force against regular troops, inspired the most sanguine hopes and military ardour. The provisional congress immediately passed a vote for raising thirteen thousand six hundred men, and called upon the other New England colonies for their respective quotas, making in all thirty thousand. Measures were also taken to obtain a loan of £100,000. The provincials crowded to the standard in numbers greater than could be maintained in the field; and the levies were placed under the command of Ward and other officers, who had acquired experience in the last war, and were now raised from the rank of colonel to that of general. The fortifications of Boston were considered sufficiently strong to preclude the hazard of any attack; but a line of thirty miles was formed around the peninsula, entirely cutting off its connexion with the surrounding country.

Meantime, an adventurous scheme was formed by two determined leaders, the colonels Arnold and Allen. Having collected a small body of troops in Connecticut, they proceeded against the strong fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderoga,—the keys of Canada. Traversing undiscovered the immense tracts, then almost desert, that lay to the north of New England, they completely surprised and captured, without resistance, both these important places, each containing a valuable supply of military stores. Arnold was equally successful against a sloop of war lying at St. John's, and thus obtained the command of Lake Champlain.

Meantime congress, having met on the 10th of May, received a report of these transactions, which called for their most earnest consideration. Some it is said were unprepared for so serious a result; but the general resolution was to follow it up, and place all the colonies in a posture of military defence. Still, before adopting any active measures, they determined, though with some dissentient voices, to make fresh appeals to the king and people of Great Britain. To his majesty they professed as strongly as ever their devotion to his person, family, and government; their deep regret at any event which could weaken their connexion with his crown, and their ardent desire for the restoration of harmony. To the people they strenuously repelled the charge of aiming at independence, which none of their actions were said to justify. They had never made overtures to any foreign power, nor availed themselves of the weak state of the cities, to become masters of them. The late hostilities had been merely the repulse of a wanton attack; they had lamented the wounds they were obliged to give, and had not yet learned to rejoice at a victory over Englishmen. The armies were said to be raised with objects purely defensive, and the fortresses seized merely as a preventive against invasion from Canada. Complaining, however, that the clemency of their sovereign was diverted, that their petitions were treated with indignity, and that their prayers were answered by insults, they dreaded that the nation wanted either the will or the power to assist them. In that case, they expressed a firm determination that, "while we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we never can surrender those glorious privileges, for

which they fought, bled, and conquered ;—your fleets and armies can destroy our towns and ravage our coasts ; these are inconsiderable objects,—things of no moment to men whose bosoms glow with the ardour of liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of your navy, and, without any sensible diminution of the necessaries of life, enjoy a luxury, which from that period you will want, —the luxury of being free.

Having emitted these declarations, congress proceeded to make military arrangements which should comprehend the whole range of the colonies. All the troops within their limits were to be now called the Continental Army ; committees were appointed to devise ways and means for supporting and supplying it with arms and stores, and preparing regulations for its government. An issue of paper-money was voted to the amount of three millions of dollars. The first object was considered to be the choice of a commander, and in this respect they were singularly fortunate. There had at this time sprung up among them an uncommon number of men of distinguished abilities ; and though some were in this respect superior to him, it was generally agreed that the fittest person was George Washington. Next day the choice was announced to him, when, in a plain, modest reply, he expressed his high sense of the honour, not concealing the pain which arose from a consciousness that his abilities and military experience might not be equal to so mighty a trust. Yet he assured them, he would enter on the momentous duty, and exert every power he possessed in so great a cause. Five hundred dollars monthly had been voted for his pay and expenses ; but being possessed of an ample fortune, he de-

clined any thing beyond the reimbursement of his actual outlay.

It was at this crisis—certainly not auspicious—that Lord North's conciliatory propositions arrived. The propositions, being communicated to congress on the 30th of May, were ordered to lie on the table; and notwithstanding the dissatisfaction excited, were afterwards referred to a committee, composed of Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, and Lee; whose report, decidedly unfavourable, was adopted on the 31st of July.

Before Washington had reached New England, the tragic character of the great drama had been more fully developed. On the 25th of May, large reinforcements arrived from England, commanded by Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, officers of high reputation, and chosen seemingly without any favour or political bias. General Gage before commencing active operations, issued a proclamation calling upon the people to lay down their arms, and offering a free pardon to all, excepting Adams and Hancock. Far, however, from thinking to take advantage of this offer, they were busily planning the most active operations. A channel, about the breadth of the Thames at London, divides the peninsula of Boston from that of Charlestown, on which last rises Bunker's Hill, the fire from which in some degree commands the capital. On the evening of the 16th of June, General Prescott, with one thousand men, having crossed unperceived the isthmus or neck, took possession of that eminence; and such activity did the Americans employ during the night in intrenching it, that by morning they had completed a redoubt and breastwork, flanked by a small river, and forming a very

strong position. At daybreak they were discovered, and a cannonade immediately opened from the ships, but without producing much effect, or even interrupting the prosecution of the works. Gage, considering it extremely inexpedient that they should be allowed to retain this position, immediately prepared a strong detachment to expel them. It was not ready till noon, when General Howe, being appointed to command, sailed across, but found the adverse party so strongly posted, that it appeared necessary to wait for a reinforcement; the Americans at the same time receiving one under Dr. Warren. Either from accident, or to secure the English position, the village of Charlestown was burned. Howe at length began to ascend the hill, while, from the heights around Boston, numerous spectators, agitated by intense and opposite emotions, witnessed the eventful scene. The provincials reserved their fire till the advancing party was within sixty or seventy yards, when they commenced a sudden and general discharge of musketry and rifles, which they used with peculiar skill. So deadly was the effect, that the British troops fell back in confusion; they were rallied, but a second time repulsed; and General Howe is said to have been left at one time almost alone, having every officer around him either killed or wounded. To have suffered a final repulse, however, would have been most disastrous. Clinton, seeing the exigency, hastened across with a fresh detachment; when the British, being led afresh to the charge, rushed upon the intrenchment, and carried it in a few minutes at the point of the bayonet. The Americans precipitately retreated, with little molestation except from a straggling fire by the vessels.

The loss on the part of the English was most severe, being stated officially at two hundred and twenty-six killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded. The other party reported only one hundred and forty-five slain, with three hundred and four wounded; and though they had lost the field, almost all the glory and advantage was felt to be on their side. The vigorous stand made by their raw levies, and the severe loss inflicted on veteran troops, elevated their courage; while it appalled not a little the power which had undertaken to bring them into subjection.

Though the centre of the movement was in New England, it extended to other colonies. In Virginia Lord Dunmore the royal governor, was compelled to retire from the colony. In North Carolina, Governor Martin was involved in similar controversies with the provincial convention, which also led to his retirement on board a ship of war. Lord William Campbell, governor of South Carolina, was equally obliged to seek security on ship-board, and joined Martin in the vicinity of Cape Fear. Governor Tryon, also, at New York, betook himself to a similar refuge, but still retained command of the harbour, and preserved an intercourse with the numerous loyalists in that quarter. Governors Eden and Franklin in Maryland and New Jersey, contrived to maintain their place, but not to exercise any jurisdiction.

The colonists had thus experienced an almost uninterrupted career of success, and, with the exception of Boston, England had not a spot left in the whole range of their territory. Yet reflecting men easily saw, that they had prevailed only against an advanced guard and

scattered detachments, and that the struggle had not yet commenced with the main force of the British empire. Washington, meantime, on proceeding to the army, was received in the most cordial manner, and without the smallest symptom of jealousy; the provincial congress sending a committee to meet him at Springfield on the frontier, and escort him to Boston. He there found fourteen thousand five hundred men, able-bodied, zealous in the cause, and personally courageous, but destitute of almost every element of military organization. A great proportion wanted bayonets, and the alarming discovery was soon made, that they had not above nine rounds of gunpowder. There were no tents, and clothes extremely deficient; there was neither commissary nor quartermaster-general. No combination existed between the troops drawn from different colonies; and the officers, mostly chosen by the men, could exercise scarcely any authority. These evils were the more difficult to remedy, as the army, enlisted only for a short period, would disband in a few months, and be replaced by one composed of raw recruits. In these circumstances, he anxiously desired to make an attack upon Boston, and dislodge the troops before the large expected reinforcements should arrive, when the prospects could not but become gloomy. Yet a council of officers decided, seemingly on good grounds, that such an attempt could have no chance of success; and he was obliged, very reluctantly, to await the turn which events might take.

The intelligence of these proceedings excited in England that spirit which former examples might lead us to expect. The ministry determined upon the most vigor-

ous measures to put down a movement which had now assumed the character of open insurrection. The nation poured in addresses, which appear to have expressed decided assurances of public support. Penn, the hereditary governor of Pennsylvania, came over with the address from congress to the king, and endeavoured to second it, declaring his positive belief that the sentiments expressed in it were sincere. It was rejected, however, as coming from an illegal body, and consisting only of a series of empty professions, which their actions belied. The royal speech at the opening of parliament, on the 26th of October, 1775, lamented that a desperate faction, by gross misrepresentations, had inflamed the minds of the people, overawed the well-affected, and, amid protestations of loyalty and attachment to the parent state, openly raised the standard of rebellion. It was added that these persons now obviously aimed at total independence, and hence clemency, as well as prudence, called for decisive exertions speedily to put down such disorders; that those of the misled multitude, who should repent of their error, would experience the utmost lenity, and be received into favour, as if they had never revolted; and that individuals on the spot would be invested with discretionary power to grant immediate pardon and indemnity to any province or colony which should return to its allegiance. Offers of aid had been received from several foreign powers; and there was no reason to apprehend hostility or impediment in any quarter.

The determination being formed to employ force, the requisite means were to be provided. In the estimates, the number of seamen was fixed at twenty-eight thou-

sand, of land forces at fifty-five thousand ; but the difficulty lay in making up this latter number. The troops at Boston, amounting to seven thousand four hundred, were manifestly inadequate ; while in Britain there was merely the small peace establishment considered necessary for the security of the country. The levying of a new army by voluntary enlistment was difficult and tedious ; while an additional time would be required for its training. In this exigency, ministers saw no expedient except that of having recourse to several German princes, who, on former occasions, had been induced, partly by alliance, but more by pecuniary motives, to hire out their soldiers for temporary service. In the beginning, therefore, of 1776, treaties were concluded with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel for twelve thousand one hundred and four men, the Duke of Brunswick for four thousand and eighty-four, the Prince of Hesse for six hundred and sixty-eight, and the Prince of Waldec for six hundred and seventy ; in all, seventeen thousand five hundred and twenty-six. These rulers, keeping in view the extreme necessity of the British government, extorted very advantageous terms. The sum of £7, 4s. 4d., was to be paid for each man ; and besides being relieved from the whole burden of their maintenance, they were to receive compensation for all extraordinary losses, in addition to certain stipends, amounting in all to about £135, 000, not only during the whole period of their engagement, but considerably longer. Besides this heavy charge, the employment of foreign mercenaries, subjects of despotic princes, aggravated much the odium of the undertaking. Yet if ministers were to engage in prompt and decisive measures for forcibly reducing America,

they do not seem, under the circumstances, to have had any other resource.

We must now return across the Atlantic, where the contest was actively carried on. In the Autumn of 1775, the Americans formed a plan for invading Canada, knowing that country to be very slightly defended, and believing the inhabitants well affected to the popular cause. A force of about three thousand men, levied in Connecticut, was placed under the command, first of Schuyler, and then of Montgomery. The latter officer, proceeding along Lake Champlain, speedily reduced Fort Chambly, and after considerable difficulty, obliged that of St. John also to surrender. Colonel Ethan Allen had already attempted Montreal, but was defeated and taken prisoner. Montgomery, however, with his whole force, marched upon that city, and compelled Carleton to retreat precipitately upon Quebec. Meantime Arnold, a daring partisan, had, at his own request, been despatched, with eleven hundred men, to penetrate to that capital by way of the Kennebec and the Chaudiere, hoping thus to take it by surprise. The route was then nearly desert, intersected by dense forests and swamps; he nevertheless overcame every difficulty, and, on the 9th of November, arrived undiscovered at Point Levi, on the opposite bank. But want of conveyance detained him there several days, during which the active exertions of Colonel Maclean placed the town in such a state of defence, that the American chief was obliged to await the arrival of Montgomery. This officer, who took the command on the 1st of December, soon saw that a regular siege, amid the rigours of a Canadian winter, would involve such sufferings and privations as his raw levies

could scarcely endure. He, therefore, determined on a night assault, which was made with the greatest intrepidity, but completely baffled. His troops were repulsed at every point, and he himself fell, deeply and generally lamented. Arnold, wounded in the assault, retreated up the river; and, though he stood his ground some time, was ultimately obliged to evacuate Canada. This first reverse sustained by the cause was severe, yet the signal displays of gallantry on the part of the provincial officers prevented its influence from being on the whole very depressing.

Washington, meantime, laboured under accumulated difficulties in prosecuting the blockade of Boston. The scarcity of ammunition, notwithstanding every effort of congress, continued almost unabated; while the want of money, as well as of necessary equipments was deeply felt on the advance of the rigorous season.

Meantime, General Gage remained inactive at Boston; a course generally condemned by historians as at once unaccountable and shameful. In the beginning of October he was recalled, without any expression of displeasure, yet probably under the impression of the disasters which the cause had sustained in his hands, and the hope that it might be more fortunate in those of another. The command then devolved upon Howe, who concurred with his predecessor as to the inexpediency of advancing into the interior of New England. He submitted to the cabinet another plan, by which Boston should be held only till the close of the winter, and the troops there, with all those expected from the mother-country, be then concentrated at New York, and the main attack made from that quarter. The inhabitants

were more friendly, and by striking at the heart of the Union, he would separate the northern and southern states, and then, according to circumstances, carry on operations against either. This plan, which, with one exception hereafter noticed, appears able and judicious, was approved by Lord Dartmouth.

Washington, meantime, was very slowly recruiting his army, which, at the beginning of February, did not reach quite nine thousand men. Being at that period permitted to offer a bounty, he had in a month collected above fourteen thousand, reinforced by six thousand Massachusetts militia. He considered this force sufficient to attack the city; but a council of officers decided, probably with reason, that such an attempt offered no chance of success. They proposed, rather, to seize and fortify the peninsular point named Dorchester Neck, whence the harbour would be in a great degree commanded, and the place, it was hoped, rendered untenable. To this he consented, and the execution of the movement was intrusted to Ward. The British were amused two days by an incessant cannonade and bombardment; till at nightfall of the 4th of March, General Thomas, with a working body of twelve hundred, a covering force of eight hundred, and three hundred carts of materials, marched undiscovered, and took possession of the most elevated part of the heights. The Americans, being chiefly practical farmers, were extremely skilful in intrenching, and laboured with such diligence, that in the morning, the English with astonishment beheld them in a strongly fortified position. The admiral then gave notice to Howe, that the harbour could not be deemed secure as long as this post was held by the Americans.

Lord Percy, with three thousand men, was employed to dislodge them; but a violent storm rendered the operation impossible, and before it dispersed, the works were considered beyond the reach of assault. Washington had prepared a select corps to attack the town, while its main force should be directed against the heights; but this project, never very feasible, was now of course given up. The British commander then prepared to evacuate the place, and indeed its maintenance was of little importance, since its early relinquishment formed part of the plan of the campaign; yet the triumph thus afforded to the opposite party was a circumstance which should have been vigilantly guarded against. Besides, as no arrangements were yet made for landing at New York, it became necessary to proceed first to Halifax, involving a great loss of time. About a fortnight was employed in preparing for the embarkation, a hazardous movement in the face of a superior army; but though Washington watched the opportunity of attacking, he found no means of attempting it with any advantage. On the 17th, the whole force was on board, and after remaining a few days in Nantucket roads, sailed towards Halifax. General Putnam immediately entered Boston, which was found strongly fortified, and quite uninjured. Washington entertained great apprehension that the city would be destroyed, though the English seem never to have entertained any such idea; and some cannon and stores, which could not be carried away, became available to him.

The American general had for some time suspected the intended direction of the invading force against New York. This was the more dreaded, as the feeling in fa-

vour of the royal cause was there very strong, especially in the city ; while Captain Parker still commanded the harbour, and Queen's County, in Long Island had refused to send deputies to the provincial convention. The congress had ordered a party of troops to enter that district, and seize the arms of all the royalists ; but this injunction was afterwards withdrawn, a step much disapproved by Washington. He hesitated not to sanction the proposal of General Charles Lee, one of the most enterprising of the provincial leaders, who hastily raised a body of troops in Connecticut, advanced by forced marches upon New York, and, disregarding the remonstrances of the inhabitants, occupied the city, and began to erect fortifications on its different sides. After the evacuation of Boston, the commander-in-chief left it defended by a comparatively small force, under Ward, and proceeded with the main army to New York, where he arrived on the 13th of April.

As some months would still elapse before the British could assemble their troops and open the general campaign, they determined to send an expedition immediately against the southern states, where the climate would oppose no obstacle, and a decisive blow might be struck with a smaller army. A chimerical hope was cherished, that Clinton, the commander, might pursue a victorious career northwards, till he should join Howe at New York ; at all events, he was instructed to be there before the opening of the campaign. After touching at New York, he joined Governor Martin, near Cape Fear ; but the main force was to consist of seven regiments from England by Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis. Various contingencies delayed its arrival till the

beginning of May ; and June came before the expedition reached Charleston, its destination. Its movements, and an intercepted letter, had, by that time, betrayed the design. The most active preparations were made, the principal inhabitants labouring in concert with the lower classes, aided by a numerous body of slaves. The defences were greatly strengthened, and a new fort named, in honour of its commander, Moultrie, erected on Sullivan's Island, separated by a narrow creek from a larger one named Long Island, commanded the entrance. Between five and six thousand men were assembled, nearly half of them regulars, and the chief command was taken by General Lee, who seemed to court every post of danger.

The expedition arrived on the 4th of June, and the troops were landed on Long Island ; yet from various obstacles, the attack was not made till the 28th. The fleet comprised two ships of fifty guns, and six bearing from twenty to thirty ; but three of the latter, through the unskilfulness of the pilot, were entangled in shoals, and could not be brought into action. The others, stationed before the fort, opened a tremendous fire, which was kept up with the greatest energy and spirit. The defenders maintained their post with equal firmness ; and the walls, though low, were composed of a firm spongy palmetto wood, in which the balls sunk without shattering them. The garrison returned a cool, steady, and remarkably well-directed fire, which did terrible execution ; the ships were rendered almost unmanageable, several of the chief officers fell, and the commodore was at one time left alone on his own deck. Clinton, from the land side, did not co-operate, having unexpectedly

found the creek impassable. He offered, by conveying over two battalions, to effect a diversion in favour of the naval commander ; but the latter, he complains, returned no answer, being too confident, and ambitious of doing the whole himself. The fleet finally moved off in a most-shattered state, having lost about two hundred men, including Lord William Campbell and other officers of rank ; while the Americans had thirty-five killed and wounded. The whole affair was most fortunate, adding another to the series of successes gained by the new levies, and inspiring them with fresh courage.

During the course of this winter, a momentous design was in active progress, which had a very important issue. Several leading men, particularly in New England, had, from the beginning, extended their views to the entire dissolution of their connection with Britain.

In Spring, 1776, news was received that the petition of congress had been rejected ; that they had been declared rebels ; that large armies were preparing to subdue them ; and that their whole commerce was utterly prohibited. Thenceforth a large majority of the leading men formed the determined purpose of asserting independence. The Union, it appeared to them, could never be then restored on any footing, but that of complete subjugation. Doubtless they felt, personally, that they themselves would be precipitated from the high place they at present occupied, and become ever after objects of suspicion, or even proscription. A general desire accordingly, was now felt to carry out this measure in a decided form, before the expected military force, or the conciliatory commission, should arrive from Great Britain ; yet great exertions are admitted to have been ne-

cessary, and much difficulty felt, in bringing the body of the people to this conclusion. The press was most actively employed through gazettes, newspapers, and pamphlets. The essay named *Common Sense*, by Thomas Paine, from its rough and homely shrewdness, was considered to have produced a very powerful effect on the multitude. As a preparative, congress authorized the immediate suppression of royal jurisdiction in all the colonies, and the formation of governments emanating from the people; while they met the prohibition against their trade by throwing it open to the whole world except Britain.

On the 22d of April, the convention of North Carolina empowered their delegates to concur with the others in the establishment of independence. That of Virginia went farther, instructing theirs to propose it. Boston was now somewhat less forward, merely intimating, if congress should think it necessary, their willing concurrence. Thus supported, Mr. Lee, a Virginia delegate, on the 7th of June, 1776, submitted a resolution for dissolving all connection with Great Britain, and constituting the united colonies free and independent states. It was warmly debated from the 8th to the 10th, when it was carried by a majority of one. As this was not a footing on which so mighty a change could be placed, the final decision was postponed till the 1st of July; and during the interval, every possible engine was brought to act upon the dissentient colonies. The smaller states were threatened with exclusion from all the benefits and protection which might be derived from the proposed union. As the assemblies of Pennsylvania and Maryland still refused their concurrence, conventions of the

people were called, where majorities were at length obtained. Thus, on the 4th of July, votes from all the colonies were procured in favour of the measure.

The declaration of independence, which had already been carefully prepared, was forthwith emitted. In this instrument congress solemnly published and declared, that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES," and entitled, as such, to carry on war, make peace, form alliances, regulate commerce, and discharge all other sovereign functions. This momentous deed was signed on the 2d of August, 1776, by all the members then present.

CHAPTER XI.

REVOLUTION, FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
TO THE ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE.

IN the decisive posture which affairs had now assumed Washington was actively endeavouring to organize the means of maintaining the hazardous contest upon which he had entered, as well as of resisting the attack that immediately impended. His most urgent representations to congress upon the necessity of forming a permanent army had been disregarded; and he found himself at the head of a motley group, in which soldiers, enlisted only for a year half elapsed, were mixed with militia whose services were to be still more temporary. In these circumstances, the restraints of discipline extended little beyond the general orders. The different states, having hitherto been almost entirely separated, viewed each other with jealous and even hostile feelings, which were shared by their respective troops, who would, it is said, more cheerfully have fought with their neighbours than with the common enemy. Their leader was soon painfully convinced, that though bodies of people may be inspired with bursts of patriotism, self-interest soon becomes among them the ruling principle. Availing themselves of the possession of arms, they indulged in predatory practices of the most scandalous nature. The inferior officers were chosen by the men, who endeavoured in various ways to turn this privilege to account.

A previous stipulation, it appears, was often made, that the surplus of the officers' pay above that of the privates should be thrown into a common stock, and equally shared. Some were even promoted in consequence of having followed the occupation of barber, on condition of exercising it upon the persons of their company; while there were instances of captains being dismissed for stealing their soldiers' blankets. In general, however, they were willing to fight, and had shown themselves capable both of forming and defending intrenchments. Washington made it a rule never to spare the spade; many were well skilled in the desultory use of the rifle, yet ill fitted for a field campaign with a large body of regular troops. Even of these ineffective soldiers there were, at the beginning of July, 1776, only seventeen thousand; and though they were raised in a few weeks to twenty-seven thousand, it was mostly by militia, numbers of whom were soon on the sick list.

Meantime, General Howe was engaged in conveying his army to the scene of action. The abrupt departure from Boston had considerably deranged his plans, as all the supplies were directed toward that city, and some thus fell into the hands of the Americans. In June, however, the armament set sail; and he himself landed at Sandy Hook, a long promontory forming the northern extremity of New Jersey. He preferred, however, to land the troops on Staten, an island south of Long Island, much smaller, and separated by a narrow channel. On the 3d of July, he disembarked there without opposition, being greeted with warm assurances of welcome and support from the adjacent territories. On the 12th, he was joined by his brother, Lord Howe

who had been appointed commander of the fleet, and also joint commissioner to treat of pacification; while the ships, with the large reinforcements from Britain, began arriving in successive detachments. As operations were delayed till the whole were assembled, his lordship circulated a proclamation, offering full pardon to all who should return to their duty, and to any port or colony so acting, peace, protection, and free trade. No concession being mentioned as to the original grounds of dispute, congress considered it so unsatisfactory that they studiously circulated it among the people, to many of whom, however, it seems to have been more acceptable than they expected. Lord Howe also attempted to open communications with Washington; but as he did not choose to address him under his title of general, his advances were politely declined.

The British designs had been well concealed, and the American commander remained long in anxious doubt whether the inroad was not to be made on the side of Canada. Considering New York, however, as the most probable and dangerous point, he had been diligently strengthening all its approaches. Having determined also to make a stand for the defence of Long Island, he formed strong lines at Brooklyn, nearly opposite to the city, stationing the flower of his troops along a range of strongly fortified heights in front of the British quarters on Staten Island. Howe, meantime, on pretty solid grounds, and with his characteristic caution, waited till his whole force was mustered, when he could follow up without interruption any success he might obtain. He complained particularly of a deficiency in camp equipage. About the middle of August, he had been joined

by nearly all the reinforcements from Britain, and also by those from the south under Clinton and Cornwallis, which augmented his force to about thirty thousand men. He still, however, waited a few days on account of the intense heat, which, he dreaded, would injure the health of the troops.

At length, on the 22d of August, the British army crossed the channel, and, covered by the guns of the fleet, landed on Long Island, taking post opposite to the range of heights occupied by the Americans. Washington, in the immediate view of this grand contest, issued repeated addresses, strenuously encouraging his men, and seeking to inspire a confidence which he himself was unable to share. Howe, on viewing the American's position, considered it too strong to be carried in front, but formed a plan for turning it. Before day on the 27th, General Grant, with the Hessian troops under De Heister, attacked the American right wing, which, being connected with Brooklyn, was considered the most important, and which the Americans directed all their efforts to reinforce. These officers, in conjunction with the fleet, kept up a brisk and continued fire, tending to confirm this impression, yet avoiding to make any material advance. Meantime, during the night, a strong detachment of the English army, under Clinton and Cornwallis, made a wide circuit through a pass in the hills round the extreme American left. This had been insufficiently guarded by a mere party of observation, which was surprised and captured; so that Clinton reached almost unresisted, the level plain behind the American's position. About half-past eight, he appeared in their rear, while Grant and De Heister began push-

ing forward with their utmost vigour. No choice was then left but for the whole army to regain the intrenched camp at Brooklyn, in reaching which they fell into the utmost confusion, and were pursued on both flanks with dreadful slaughter. Lord Stirling attempted to cover the retreat by an attack with a chosen corps upon Lord Cornwallis, but was surrounded and taken prisoner with all his detachment. The entire loss is stated at upwards of three thousand, including eleven hundred prisoners, among whom was General Sullivan. That of the British was only three hundred and sixty-seven killed, wounded, and taken. Washington, from Brooklyn, witnessed with deep anguish the total overthrow of his army, while Howe, from the other side, viewed with triumph the complete success of his manœuvre, which achieved for him a decided military reputation.

He was now advised by some to attack the enemy's lines, which he admits might have been carried, but with the loss of fifteen hundred men, while he would have been sure by manœuvring to dislodge them. Yet, considering their state of confusion and dismay, the estimate of loss was probably overrated, and it was of vast importance to have made the blow immediate and complete. On the 29th, Washington with great activity conveyed over during the night the whole army, with most of its artillery, in safety to New York.

The commissioners, who certainly showed an anxious desire for pacification, chose this occasion to send Sullivan, the captured general, to congress, stating that they could not indeed as yet acknowledge its political character, but inviting some of its members to a conference. A deputation was sent, consisting of Adams, Franklin,

and Rutledge,—strenuous votaries of independence. Lord Howe received them with great politeness; but his offers included merely, as usual, a general amnesty, and a promise to reconsider the obnoxious acts; while they declared a treaty inadmissible on any basis, except that of the states being acknowledged independent. On these terms there could not be the least approximation between the two parties.

General Howe now proceeded with measures for driving the republicans out of New York, which, as usual, he sought to effect rather by circuitous manœuvre than by direct assault. He prepared expeditions to ascend the opposite branches of the Hudson, which inclose New York Island, and by landing above the city, oblige the Americans either to evacuate or be completely shut up within it. Washington, viewing with alarm these movements, called a council of officers, and recommended the immediate withdrawal of the troops; but strong objections being expressed, it was determined rather to leave there five thousand men, while the main body occupied a strong post at Kingsbridge, connecting the northern point of the island with the continent. As the British operations advanced, the perils attending this detached position became evident, so that by general consent, the evacuation was determined upon, and the utmost activity employed in removing the artillery and stores. On the 15th of September, Clinton landed at Kipp's Bay, a position strongly fortified, and defended by eight regiments; but, dispirited by late disasters, they fled without attempting resistance, and Washington in vain strove to rally them. It was then necessary with the utmost haste to withdraw the troops, which was

effected with the loss of only about three hundred prisoners; but they left behind them a large quantity of artillery, stores, and camp equipage, the want of which was most sensibly felt.

The British army now entered on the peaceable occupation of New York; yet it was disturbed by a distressing occurrence. On the night of the 20th or morning of the 21st of September, a fire broke out which continued to rage till a third of the city was consumed. Gordon says that, amid the rejoicings and revelry of the troops on their entry, the flames broke out in an obscure tavern, in the most crowded quarter; while from the same circumstances they for some time spread undiscovered, and were with the utmost difficulty extinguished.

Washington now took post on Harlem Heights, a range which crossed the island, and had been so carefully fortified, that Howe, with his wonted caution, did not venture an attack. His plan was to oblige the Americans to relinquish the post by landing on the eastern shore, thus threatening their rear and communication with New England. As a preliminary, three frigates were sent up the main stream of the Hudson; and, notwithstanding the resistance made by Forts Washington and Lee, and by *chevaux-de-frize* sunk in the channel, they passed without injury. Before pushing into the interior, the British commander spent about three weeks, seemingly a needless waste of time, in fortifying New York. On the 12th of October, having placed the flower of his army in flat-bottomed boats, he proceeded up the eastern channel, and through the pass of Hellgate, to the point called Frog's Neck. Finding his advance here much obstructed, he re-embarked and landed higher up

at Pell's Point, whence he advanced upon New Rochelle. The American commander, meantime, had called a council of war, which decided that the position on New York Island was no longer secure; and the troops accordingly crossed at Kingsbridge, taking up a position extending thence eastward towards White Plains, which was fortified as well as time would admit. Howe, on coming up and reconnoitring, determined to attack first a detached corps of sixteen hundred men under General McDougall, who, after a sharp, but short conflict, were dislodged; but the general position was judged so strong as to make it advisable to wait for some reinforcements. These arrived, and the attack was preparing; when, during the night of the 31st, Washington retired to a range of heights five miles in his rear, which he had been employed in strengthening. To the cautious view of the British commander, this post appeared so formidable, that he determined to change the seat of war to New Jersey, a less defensible territory, whither his antagonist would be obliged to follow him.

As a preliminary, he resolved to attack Fort Washington, a strong post still held by the Americans on New York Island. Howe, with an unusual boldness, determined to attempt the place by storm; and, on the 16th of November, the army, in four divisions, advanced to the assault. In a few hours they had carried all the outworks, in which the chief strength consisted; and Magaw, the governor, felt himself obliged to capitulate, though Washington sent word, that if he could hold out till evening, an attempt would be made to rescue him. The prisoners amounted to two thousand eight hundred and eighteen, rendering the loss nearly as heavy as at

the battle on Long Island; while the royal army had eight hundred killed and wounded. Cornwallis immediately landed with a strong force on the Jersey shore, when the Americans found it necessary to evacuate Fort Lee, opposite to Fort Washington. The garrison was saved, but the cannon, tents, and stores were left behind.

The American army was now pursued through New Jersey, a level country, which afforded no defensible position, and time was not allowed to fortify any. After a retreat of three weeks, Washington only secured himself by crossing to the opposite side of the Delaware. The critical period was again approaching, when the terms for which the troops had been enlisted would expire. Exhausted and dispirited, they eagerly availed themselves of the liberty thus afforded, and even anticipated it without any regard to the exigencies of the service. He had been urging in the strongest terms upon congress the ruinous nature of the temporary system hitherto pursued, warning them that, without a permanent and well organized army the cause was lost. Seconded by the disastrous state of affairs, he had been empowered to raise, first eighty-eight, and then sixteen more regular battalions; to give higher bounties and pay; and to act in other respects for six months as a military dictator. The men, however, were not yet raised, and present circumstances were little calculated to invite them into the service. In crossing the Delaware, he had with him only three thousand, independent of a detachment left at White Plains, under General Lee. That officer, while reluctantly obeying the order to join the main force, and suspected to be meditating some schemes of his own, was surprised and

made prisoner,—an event which threw additional gloom over the American prospects.

The course seemed now open before Howe to cross the Delaware with the utmost possible expedition, and advance on Philadelphia. Though probably not aware of the extreme weakness of his antagonist, he could not suppose him to have any force capable of arresting such a movement. The river was unfordable; but vigorous exertion could surely have provided the means of passing, which the ice at all events would soon have rendered easy. Washington entertained no doubt of this being his opponent's intention; and, though its accomplishment "would wound the heart of every virtuous American," declares himself wholly without the means of preventing it. Congress, in consequence, removed their sittings to Baltimore.

Still, though the American cause seemed reduced to the lowest ebb, congress remained firm, announcing to their countrymen and to the powers of Europe, a determination to adhere immutably to the declaration of independence. Washington felt, with almost exaggerated force, the weight of the evils that pressed upon the cause; yet, with a firm and bold spirit, he watched every opportunity of retrieving it. He had collected about five or six thousand men, and prevailed upon some, whose service had expired, to remain for other six weeks. The English army, covering the Jerseys, was ranged along the Delaware, from Trenton to Burlington, on which line there was reason to believe that no very strict watch would be kept. The bold genius of Washington conceived a plan, which was eagerly adopted. The troops being formed into three detachments, he, with the strong-

est, amounting to two thousand four hundred, crossed the river on the night of the 25th of December, and from two opposite points attacked Trenton, then occupied by Colonel Rhalle with a strong body of Hessians. That officer, while hastily mustering his men, received a mortal wound; and the whole corps, surprised and surrounded, speedily surrendered. The two other detachments were arrested by severe cold and tempest, otherwise they might, it was hoped, have been equally successful, and a sweep made of the whole range of positions. Washington, however, had good reason to congratulate himself on carrying off nearly one thousand prisoners, with only ten of his own men killed and wounded,—a most unexpected event, which wonderfully revived the sinking spirits of his countrymen.

Washington now crossed the Delaware, and, with five thousand men, took post at Trenton; but Cornwallis, mustering all his force, advanced upon him; and, on the 2d of January, 1777, the two armies were separated only by a creek. The American general easily saw that, by engaging here a superior army, he ran imminent hazard of being defeated, and driven over the Delaware with great disadvantage and loss. He formed a bold design; breaking up silently in the night, he moved round the British right, and advanced rapidly upon Brunswick, where their chief magazines were lodged. He might, seemingly, have succeeded, had he not encountered at Princeton three regiments coming up to join the main army. The Americans were at first repulsed, and General Mercer killed; but Washington, by extraordinary exertions, restored the action, separated his opponents, and obliged them to retreat in different directions. He

then, however, saw advancing against him the van of Cornwallis, who, having received the alarm, hastened to frustrate his scheme ; and as he could not hazard a battle without the certainty of defeat, with the risk of having his retreat cut off, he prudently fell back. . In this skirmish, the loss on both sides was nearly equal ; but the having made another bold offensive movement without disadvantage, heightened greatly the favourable impression produced by his former enterprise. The English general then repaired to Brunswick, and limited himself to a defensive line thence to Amboy, merely covering New York. This in a military sense, was perhaps most eligible ; but with a view to moral effect, it would have been better to have resumed, almost at any cost, his former positions, and not allowed his weak and beaten enemy to re-occupy nearly the whole of the Jerseys.

It now behoved the British commander-in-chief to form plans for the approaching campaign ; and the first which he communicated was in accordance with the general views we have observed him to entertain. A detachment being left to cover New Jersey, one expedition was to ascend the Hudson, another to land at Rhode Island, and endeavour thence to push on to Boston. This course seems liable to all the objections already stated, with the additional one of its dividing the active force into two entirely detached portions. It would also have required a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, which, it appears, was not likely to be forthcoming. On further consideration, he decided in favour of an expedition against Philadelphia, which could be accomplished with a smaller force, and was favoured by the reported

disposition of the inhabitants. This was approved by the ministry, and, for reasons above stated, seems the wisest course, though too tardily adopted. A detachment had already been sent, under Clinton, to occupy Rhode Island,—a measure justly censured by Botta, as weakening, for this very subordinate object, the main body, still scarcely adequate to its destination. Lord Howe considered it very important as a naval station; but he should have considered that it was by land operations only that the campaign was to be decided.

The remainder of the winter was employed by the English in making a few expeditions for the destruction of stores, generally successful, though at Danbury they encountered a sharp resistance, and lost about two hundred in killed and wounded. The Americans also made an attack on Sagg's Harbour, on Long Island, where they destroyed some shipping and stores. Washington, meantime, was actively employing those powers for raising and organizing troops which the exigency of affairs had at length extorted from congress. Levies, however, went on very slowly, through the discouraging state of the cause and the rigour of the season; so that, at the opening of the campaign, he had not mustered quite eight thousand men. These, however, were in an improved state of discipline, bearing somewhat the aspect and character of a regular army; and during the winter months, he had strongly intrenched them in a position covering the route to Philadelphia. Howe considered it inexpedient to open the campaign till the middle of June, when the forage was green on the ground,—a delay, the necessity of which has been doubted. He then assumed a position in front of the Americans, which he



WASHINGTON AT THE BATTLE OF PRINCETON



maintained six days ; but, after having carefully reconnoitred their camp, considered it too strong for attack, and fell back to his original station. His next manœuvre was to commence an apparently precipitate retreat ; by which Washington was so far deceived, that he engaged in a hasty pursuit, when the royal troops, as soon as the Americans were close upon them, wheeled round and made a brisk attack. Lord Cornwallis pursued a detachment under Lord Stirling to a considerable distance ; but the American general, on seeing his error, exerted such activity in withdrawing his detachments that they regained their intrenched position without very serious loss.

The British commander, having thus failed in his attempts to bring the Americans to action, conceived it impossible, in their face, to attempt the passage of so broad a river as the Delaware. There appeared no alternative but to embark his army, and, by a great circuit, land them at the head of the Chesapeake. In fact, the British force was not on board till the 5th of July, and did not reach its destination till the 24th of August, when it was landed without opposition.

Washington had been carefully watching its movements, and recruiting his own force, which he had raised to fourteen thousand, not the most numerous, but the most efficient of any he had hitherto commanded. He determined, therefore, to risk a battle in defence of Philadelphia, though conscious that its issue must be very doubtful ; but otherwise the expectations of the country would be disappointed, and a discouragement ensue worse than defeat. The only considerable river on the route was the Brandywine, along whose high banks he drew up

his army, erecting batteries and intrenchments for the defence of the principal fords. Howe's advance to this point was obstructed only by skirmishes with his advanced guard; yet proceeding with characteristic deliberation, he did not reach it till the 11th of September. Determining then upon an attack, he made his arrangements with skill and judgment. Knyphausen, with the Hessians, attacked the American front, driving them across the river, with apparently vigorous attempts to follow, yet avoiding any actual advance. Meantime, a strong division under Cornwallis, accompanied by Howe, himself, made a circuit of seventeen miles to pass by the upper fords. Washington had received some intimation of this movement, but, distracted by opposite reports, did not sufficiently provide against it. Cornwallis reached the right of the American army before it had time to form, and, by a vigorous attack, he completely broke and drove them before him. Knyphausen, as soon as he heard this firing, pushed forward with his whole force, when the American centre, already alarmed by the disaster of its right, gave way at every point. After some vain attempts by Greene to cover the retreat, the whole army retreated, losing more than one thousand killed and wounded and prisoners. Howe has been severely blamed for not following up this as well as other victories; while he and Cornwallis reply, that this was neither practical nor safe in a country encumbered with immense woods, where the fugitive army easily found shelter, and could have harassed their pursuers with a desultory warfare.

The American general soon reassembled his defeated army, and though slowly retreating, did not give up all

hopes of saving Philadelphia. He was even about again to engage the enemy, when a violent storm, continued during a whole day and night, prevented the conflict and rendered his ammunition useless. Still it was only by skilful manœuvres that his opponent succeeded in entering the capital, and obliging him to retreat beyond it. Congress, who had returned thither, removed first to Lancaster and then to Yorktown.

Thus established in Philadelphia, Howe pushed forward the main body of his force to Germantown. A large part, however, was employed in reducing a chain of forts and batteries, which the Americans had erected on the Lower Delaware, interrupting the direct communication with the sea, where Admiral Lord Howe, after landing the troops at the head of the Chesapeake, had brought round the fleet. Washington, having received some reinforcements, determined to take advantage of this divided state of the army by a sudden attack on the portion stationed at Germantown. At seven o'clock in the evening of the 3d of October, his troops advanced in four divisions, and, having marched fourteen miles, at daybreak took the British completely by surprise. For some time he carried all before him; but he was arrested by a large stone building, obstinately defended by six companies, and which he is blamed for having stopped to reduce. On the opposing force being fully drawn forth, he was defeated at every point, with the loss of upwards of a thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Notwithstanding this unfortunate issue, a favourable impression of his resources was conveyed by his resuming the offensive so soon after the defeat at Brandywine.

The British troops were now employed in reducing

the defences of the Delaware. It attacking the fort of Red Bank, a detachment under Count Donop, a gallant German officer, was repulsed, with the loss of about four hundred men, and the commander mortally wounded. It was afterwards relinquished on the approach of a superior force ; but November had nearly closed before the passage for the fleet was completely cleared. Howe, then, on the 4th of December, marched out with the view of again bringing the American general to battle. The latter, having received four thousand additional troops from the north, had taken up a position at Whitemarsh, about fourteen miles from Philadelphia, which he considered so strong, that his letters express a desire of being there attacked ; but the English general, upon a careful survey, declined the engagement, and, after some days' skirmishing, fell back upon the capital. The attention of the American commander was then anxiously directed to the choice of winter-quarters. After much hesitation, he fixed upon Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, a very wild and bare spot, but well fitted for straitening the English position, and overawing the inhabitants, who were generally disaffected. The troops laboured under a scarcity of provisions, and still more of clothes and shoes ; so that their marches were marked by tracks of blood from their wounded feet. The country people were indisposed to supply goods, and set very little value on the paper certificates offered in return ; but Washington on one occasion only would agree to a compulsory requisition. The encampment consisted of rude log-huts, erected by the soldiers, in one of which twelve were lodged. Their sufferings during the winter were most intense, and their endurance is highly creditable to their

own fortitude, and the persuasive influence of their distinguished commander.

We have already noticed that the American expedition against Canada had been signally disastrous. After being severely repulsed at Quebec, they had, in the course of December, 1776, been compelled entirely to evacuate the province. The plan was then formed to send from that country a strong British force, which, penetrating across the back settlements of New York, might form a junction with Howe, and second his operations. The command was bestowed on Burgoyne, an officer of merit; but his superseding Carleton, who had highly distinguished himself in the defence of Canada, was by no means popular.

About the middle of June, 1777, Burgoyne began his march, with six thousand seven hundred British and Germans, to which he could only add two hundred and fifty Canadians, and four hundred Indians. His first movement was against Crown Point and Ticonderoga, considered the barriers of the Union on that frontier. These forts, which the Americans so fortunately acquired at the beginning of the contest, had been enlarged and strengthened, and were now garrisoned by above three thousand men. When, however, on the 5th of July, the works were nearly invested, General St. Clair, called a council of officers, who decided that the force, being mostly militia, was insufficient for their defence. A retreat was therefore effected during the night, the baggage and stores being embarked upon Lake George. As soon as morning betrayed this movement, a vigorous pursuit was commenced, several detachments were cut off, and the flotilla on the lake destroyed; while the

American forces, greatly reduced in numbers, retreated to Fort Edward, on the Hudson.

This triumphant opening filled the British with exultation, while it struck dismay into their opponents. The former, however, soon encountered great and unforeseen obstacles. The country, wholly intersected with creeks and marshes, required a constant alternation of land and water conveyance, which the Americans rendered more difficult by felling large trees and laying them across the paths. It was necessary to construct forty bridges, one of them two miles in extent, while the bateaux had to be dragged from creek to creek by ten or twelve oxen. The interval between the 30th of July and 15th of August was thus spent in an advance of only eighteen miles. The inhabitants, were animated with a strong spirit of independence, and eminently fitted for desultory warfare. The "Green Mountain boys," who roamed and hunted over that lofty branch of the Alleghany, poured down in large bodies, and with rifles all but unerring, proved as formidable in this wild region as the best trained regulars. The Indians did not yield services equal to the odium which their employment excited. Two of them were employed to escort Miss Macrea, a young lady of great personal beauty, to the camp, where she was to be married to an officer. On the way they quarrelled about the expected reward; when one of them, roused to fury, and resolved at all events to disappoint his rival, struck her dead with his tomahawk. This tragical event had no actual connexion with the war, and might have happened amid profound peace; yet it excited a strong sensation throughout the region, wholly to the disadvantage of the British cause.

Burgoyne being now hard pressed for provisions and means of transport, and learning that there was a large supply at Bennington in Vermont, sent thither Colonel Baum, with six hundred Germans. The independents, however, mustered in unexpected numbers, and were reinforced by General Starke, who was leading a corps from New Hampshire to aid the northern army. Baum, was mortally wounded, and his party totally dispersed. As he had given notice of the threatened resistance, Colonel Breyman, with five hundred men, was sent to his aid; but did not arrive till all was over. He was himself briskly attacked; and though at first he maintained his ground, was at length obliged to retreat with the loss of two cannon. News came also of the fate of another expedition of one thousand men under Colonel St. Leger, destined to cross Lake Ontario, capture Fort Stanwix, and, ascending the Mohawk, reinforce the principal corps. Here again the error of divided movements and proposed meeting from distant quarters had been repeated. That officer found the place more strongly defended than he expected; the Indians, who composed nearly half his force, were seized with a panic; and he was obliged to fall back, abandoning even his stores.

Burgoyne now felt the difficulties of his situation daily thickening around him. Gates, a distinguished leader, had been sent to take the command of the Americans, bringing a body of regulars, who, with the numerous volunteers and militia, now formed an army of thirteen thousand men, with habits eminently fitted for this desultory warfare. Considerations purely military would have dictated a return into Canada, while yet possible;

but the English general had to consider the dishonour of the British arms by a retreat before this undisciplined foe; the strict injunctions laid upon him to advance on Albany, where he was taught to expect that Howe would be waiting for his junction, while otherwise Gates might wheel round, and augment the force acting against that commander. He had therefore strong motives for his determination to advance at whatever cost. It was necessary, however, to give up his communication with Ticonderoga and the lakes, having no force adequate to maintain the necessary chain of posts. Resolving to push forward and cut his way through the American troops to Albany, he led his army briskly, in several columns, along the roads leading thither, disposing them so as to cover his artillery and baggage. The Americans determined upon resisting this movement by a general attack. They commenced it at Stillwater, about noon of the 19th of September, and maintained the contest very obstinately till dusk, when they were driven back within their lines. The energy, however, with which they had maintained their ground, and the loss of six hundred men sustained by the already reduced British force, gave it the character of a triumph; while it heightened the gloom which surrounded Burgoyne, who now determined to pause, and fortify himself in his present position. On the 3d of October, fifteen hundred men, sent out to forage and reconnoitre, rashly advanced within half a mile of the American intrenchments, when the daring Arnold instantly sallied out, attacked and drove them back to their camp. The whole American army then followed and commenced a most furious assault on the lines. From the British quarter they were

completely repulsed; but the German intrenchments were carried, two hundred prisoners taken, and Breyman with several leading officers killed or wounded. After this disaster it was judged necessary to fall back upon Saratoga.

As already noticed, Burgoyne had been impelled forward by the belief that Howe with his whole army was waiting for him on the Hudson, and probably at Albany; and having been strangely kept ignorant of that commander's total change of destination, while his attempts at communication were interrupted, he remained still in the dark on this subject. A letter from him, however, reached New York, where Clinton had been left with a force barely sufficient to maintain that position, and without any instructions to co-operate with Burgoyne; so that the intelligence from that general, though so fully to be expected, seems to have fallen upon him like a thunderbolt. Being an energetic and active officer, he assembled three thousand men, and began a brisk movement up the Hudson. The forts of Clinton and Montgomery, which, on opposite banks, defended the navigation, were carried, sixty-seven cannon taken, two frigates, and two galleys burned. Tryon destroyed barracks fitted to accomodate fifteen hundred men; and Vaughan incurred reproach by reducing to ashes the town of Esopus, on the insufficient plea that the troops had been fired at from the houses, and that "it was a nursery for almost every villain (malcontent) in the country." Though Gates observed these movements, he wisely forbore to weaken his army by detachments against this corps, which failed in every attempt even to open a communication with the northern army.

Burgoyne now felt that his affairs had reached a fatal crisis. The Americans held and strongly guarded all the posts in the rear, and had destroyed the flotilla on Lake George; while in front they had an army double his own in number, and in such warfare not much less efficient. An attempted movement in either direction must therefore be followed by a series of incessant and harassing attacks, destroying his army in detail. A council of war was called, and the conclusion formed, that no option was left but the deeply afflicting one of opening a negotiation for surrender. Gates' first demand was, that the whole force should ground their arms and become prisoners of war; but the general, with all his officers, agreed in the determination to brave every extremity rather than submit to such terms. Gates, a prudent man, feeling the importance, of time, agreed, after some discussion, to grant the honours of war, and a free passage to Britain, on condition of their not serving again in North America during the present contest. These conditions, so far as related to him, were honourably, and even courteously, fulfilled; but congress, whose feelings of honour were less keen than their patriotic zeal, eagerly sought a pretext for evading the contract to convey the troops to Britain. The general warned them, that none could be found in their own observance of the convention, which had been strictly honourable. Burgoyne, however, when complaining of the treatment which his men experienced at Boston, used the rash expression, that he considered the convention as thereby violated; whence they inferred, that on returning home, he would represent his government as absolved from the engagement against their serving in

America. They demanded lists of the men's names, which seems not very unreasonable, but was considered by Burgoyne as an impeachment on British honour. In short, they determined not to fulfil the convention,—a course which few even of their own advocates fully defend, and which Washington is said to have decidedly disapproved.

This intelligence arrived in England November, 1777, while parliament were sitting; and the effect may be easily conceived. The opposition, justifying the conduct of the commanders, threw the whole blame upon ministers. Chatham declared the expedition a most wild, uncombined, mad project; and Fox said that ten thousand men had been destroyed by the wilful ignorance and incapacity of Lord Germaine. Ministers, on the other hand, contended that every thing depending upon them had been done; large armies had been sent, and most amply supplied; and, before being condemned, they were entitled at least to a full inquiry. Lord North protested, as on former occasions, his willingness to lay down office if he could thereby hope to restore peace; but seeing no prospect of this, he considered himself bound to remain at the helm. Lord Chatham had moved for a cessation of hostilities, which was negatived; but committees were named in each house for an inquiry into the state of the nation, the result of which was to be taken into consideration in the beginning of February, 1778. Ministers proposed and carried, though with considerable opposition, an adjournment till the 20th of January. The warlike spirit of the nation had been gradually subsiding in consequence of the lengthened contest, and the little prospect of any decisive success:

so that the first accounts of Burgoyne's catastrophe produced deep despondence, and a general call for peace. In the course of the recess, however, a very decided reaction took place, excited mainly, we imagine, by the prevailing belief, that France was about to join America; for David Hartley warned his friend, Dr. Franklin, that the English would "fight for a straw with their last shilling and their last man," rather than be dictated to by that power. Manchester, Liverpool, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, came forward to supply regiments; six battalions were raised in the Scottish Highlands; eleven companies in Wales. The voluntary levies thus effected before the meeting of parliament, amounted to fifteen thousand men. The opposition exclaimed against this raising of troops without consent or knowledge of parliament; but ministers had little dread of this charge, and boasted of the result as decisively expressing the national opinion in their favour. Mr. Fox and the Duke of Richmond made motions that no troops should be sent out of the kingdom, which were negatived, but not by the usual large majorities; the former only by two hundred and fifty-nine to one hundred and sixty-five; the last by ninety-one to thirty-four.

Soon after the meeting of parliament, however, Lord North brought forward a most extensive scheme of conciliation, embracing indeed every demand which had originally been made by the colonists. The right of taxation without their own consent was to be renounced; the violated constitutions were to be restored; every act since 1763 was to be abrogated, excepting such as were manifestly beneficial to the colonies. The intentions of ministers had, he said, been misunderstood; these were

the measures they had waited to announce in a hoped-for moment of decisive success, but having been disappointed, there seemed no longer any room for delay. This proposal met with no serious opposition, though among the supporters of the war there were considerable murmurs at the renunciation of all its objects; while among its opponents, a serious schism was soon perceptible. A part, including Governor Pownall, maintained that every attempt to bring America again under subjection was now chimerical; they were and must be an independent sovereign people; our true policy was to treat with them as such, and endeavour to form a close federal and commercial alliance, which might snatch them out of the arms of France, and gain for ourselves great advantages. Mr. Hartley, General Conway, and the Duke of Richmond, leaned to the same opinion. But the lofty mind of Chatham listened with the deepest indignation to the mention of severing from Britain that mighty empire, which he had been the instrument of so widely extending. On the 7th of April, he appeared in the House of Lords, rejoicing that, though with more than one foot in the grave, he had been able to rise from bed, and to bear testimony against it. "I rejoice," said he, "that the grave has not closed on me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy. Shall this great kingdom, that has survived the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest; that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon?" If peace could not be preserved with honour, why was not war commenced without hesitation? He

did not know what were the means of carrying it on; but any state was better than despair. "Let us at least make one effort; and if we must fall, let us fall like men." In the course of the debate, this great statesman was seized with a paroxysm of illness, which, in a few weeks, terminated his life and his splendid political career. Lord Shelburne also declared, that the moment Britain acknowledged the independence of America, her sun was set. There is little doubt, that the opposite course would even before this have been the wisest; yet it was one for which the nation in general was by no means prepared.

We must now look to the continent of Europe, where measures of the deepest importance had been secretly in agitation. Congress for some time made a boast of rigorously abstaining from any attempt to seek support by foreign alliances, when they might have done so with every prospect of success. France and Spain, it was well known, deeply humbled by the result of the war ended in 1763, and the extensive territories then wrested from them, were anxiously watching an opportunity to retrieve and avenge these losses. The latter power, indeed, might dread lest the same spirit should spread to her own settlements; but France upon this head had much less to fear. In the Spring of 1776, all the leading men in the colonies, having fixed their minds upon independence, became disposed to avail themselves of the advantages of foreign treaties. Franklin indeed states, as his first opinion, that America, "as a virgin state, should not go about suitoring alliances," but rather wait till she was courted; but he was overruled, and ultimately became the most active agent. On the 29th of November,

1775, a committee had been appointed to open a correspondence with the friends of America in Europe. The first person employed was Silas Deane, a member of congress, who was instructed to visit Europe in the character of a merchant, and endeavour to open private channels, by which the cabinets might aid America, without openly committing themselves. He arrived about the 1st of July, 1776, and found the French court well disposed to favour his views. Turgot, a minister friendly to peace, had been replaced by Vergennes, who eagerly aspired to regain for France the ground lost in the late contest. A great dread, however, being felt lest the power and perseverance of America should fail, and France be left alone to maintain an unequal contest, the minister intimated that aid could not be openly given, but that no obstruction would be opposed to the shipment of warlike stores and supplies; if any occurred, it need only be stated to be speedily removed. In fact, Mr. Deane was informed that arrangements had already been made for transmitting by a circuitous route a liberal supply. Beaumarchais, a Frenchman, had gone to London and sought out Arthur Lee, the secret agent of congress, whom he informed that the court of France had resolved to assist the colonies with military stores to the value of £200,000. They were not, however, to come direct from that high source, but from himself, under the fictitious firm of Roderique, Hortales, and Company, to be ostensibly established at Port St. François in St. Domingo, whence the great bulk of the articles were to be furnished. Mr. Lee fully understood them to be delivered out of the French magazines, and that only a slight and formal return was expected. By this under-

hand channel, twenty-five thousand muskets and other supplies were, in the beginning of 1777, received in America, and were of the utmost use to Washington in the equipment of the new army which he was then levying. In the end of that year, however, congress were much surprised by the demand from an agent of Beaumarchais of payment for all the stores thus furnished. Several letters explaining the transaction had been intercepted; and the mystery in which the whole was involved rendered it impossible for them to give an absolute refusal. Their commissioners, however, were instructed to seek, in the most delicate manner, an explanation from the French ministers, intimating their belief that they had been indebted to his majesty alone for these valuable supplies. That court, however, on being repeatedly pressed by the British ambassador upon this subject, had not scrupled to deny having afforded any aid whatever to the colonies; so that a breach of its honour, that is, an exposure of its deceit, was apprehended, in now making the statement. The minister therefore replied, that Beaumarchais had merely received these stores from his majesty's arsenals as a personal accommodation, and on condition of replacing them; gravely adding that he knew nothing of such a house as Roderique, Hortales, and Company. Some time after, a controversy having arisen with Mr. Deane, Thomas Paine, then secretary of the committee for foreign affairs, published a pamphlet, broadly stating that the stores had been supplied by the French government as a gift, and with an express intimation that no payment was expected. Hereupon Gerard, the French ambassador, presented two memorials to congress, calling upon them

for an explicit disavowal of these assertions. That body, according to Mr. Pitkin, could not possibly at this time quarrel with France on any ground, and therefore put forth the declaration demanded, though having, he admits, the strongest ground for believing it untrue. Paine, for his indiscretion, was obliged to resign his office; and it became impossible to escape from the engagement to pay, in the course of three years, the demands of Beaumarchais. Congress still hoped that the French ministry would, in some way, interpose to avert this burdensome obligation; but they were disappointed; and through this chain of circumstances, so little creditable to all parties, they were under the hard necessity of paying a profligate adventurer for supplies which had, in fact, been freely furnished to them out of the French magazines. He even intercepted one of three millions of livres covertly presented to them by their ally; but before the final settlement, they learned this fraud, and deducted it from the payment.

As soon as the declaration of independence had been fully matured, congress applied itself openly and with increased vigour to the object of foreign alliances. On the 11th of June, a committee was appointed to prepare a plan, which was not however matured and approved till the 17th of September, when Dr. Franklin, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Lee, were appointed commissioners to proceed to France. The former, from his weight of character, sound judgment and address, had almost the entire direction. On reaching Paris, however, in December, 1776, he found the cabinet by no means prepared openly to espouse the cause of the states, or even to acknowledge their independence. Friendly professions

were made, and a continuance of private succours promised ; but there was an evident determination against proceeding farther till it should appear whether they could resist the shock of the British armies, the pressure of which was then so severe. The disasters of the campaign increased the anxiety of congress upon the subject. They sent commissioners to the courts of Vienna, Spain, Prussia, and Tuscany ; and in order to induce France to declare openly in their favour, offered large privileges for commerce and fishery, and even the possession of such West India islands as might be captured during the war. But the same distresses which impelled to these overtures, made the court cautious of accepting them, and continue to watch the train of events. The campaign of 1777, notwithstanding its misfortunes, was considered to afford prospects of making a permanent stand ; but the French counsels evidently vacillated with every intelligence and even report which arrived from America. No change took place till the arrival, early in December, of the momentous tidings of Burgoyne's surrender, which at once gave a decisive turn to the views of the cabinet. On the 16th, M. Gerard intimated to the commissioners that, after long deliberation, the king had determined to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and also to afford them support, though thereby involving himself in an expensive war. It was frankly admitted that he thus acted, not merely from a friendly disposition towards them, but for the promotion of his own political interests. On the 8th of January, 1778, Louis wrote a letter to his uncle, the king of Spain, referring to Britain as their common and inveterate enemy. During the pending contest, he had afforded to the colonies supplies

of money and stores, at which England had taken deep umbrage, and would no doubt seize the first opportunity of avenging herself. The Americans had indeed shown that they were not to be subdued, but Britain might succeed in her present attempts to form a close and friendly alliance with them, and thus turn her arms undivided against her continental enemies ; now, therefore, was the time to form such a connection as might prevent any reunion between them and the mother country.

In pursuance of these views, there was concluded, on the 6th of February, a treaty of commerce, accompanied by one of defensive alliance in the well foreseen case of war being the result. The allies were to make common cause with the states, and to maintain their absolute independence. Whatever conquests should be made on the continent were to be secured to them, but those in the West Indies to the crown of France. Adams expresses extraordinary exultation at this arrangement, anticipating not only assured success to America, but the entire humiliation of Britain, which he compares to a wide-spreading tree girdled at the root. Her wealth had been lost with the colonies, and could never be regained ; her fleet could no longer cope with that of France. By yielding now, she might retain the rank of a second rate power ; otherwise she must be crushed into total insignificance. Many months, however, had not elapsed till he was obliged to own that these expectations had been fallacious, and to behold the unaided resources of the mother country equal to the combined hostility of Europe and America.

CHAPTER XIII.

REVOLUTION, FROM THE ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE TO THE
PEACE IN 1783.

THE treaty between France and America, though soon generally known, was for some time studiously concealed from the British minister. On the 13th of March, however, the French ambassador at London delivered a note, referring to the United States as already in full possession of independence, whence his majesty had concluded with them a treaty of friendship and commerce, and would take effectual measures to prevent its interruption. Professions were made of the king's anxiety to cultivate a good understanding with Britain, and his sincere disposition for peace, of which it was ironically said that new proofs would be found in this communication. On the 17th, this document was laid before Parliament, with a message from the crown, stating that the British ambassador had in consequence been ordered to withdraw from Paris, and expressing trust in the zealous and affectionate support of the people for repelling this unprovoked aggression combined with insult. An address echoing the message was moved in both houses; but the opposition reproached ministers with not having duly foreseen or prepared for this emergency; while a few repelled as now hopeless the idea of holding America under any kind of dependence. It was car-

ried, however, by majorities, in the Commons of two hundred and sixty-three to a hundred and thirteen; in the Lords of sixty-eight to twenty-five. The message for calling out the militia was sanctioned without a division.

In Pennsylvania, meantime, the two armies continued viewing each other without any material warlike movement. The distress suffered by Washington at Valley Forge was extreme, congress taking no efficient measures to supply the troops with clothes or even provisions. That body, indeed, showed a decided jealousy of the army, and by ill treatment did its utmost to render their suspicions well founded. The officers had to complain, not only of irregularity in receiving their pay, but of obtaining no promise of half-pay at the end of the war; this last, however, through the remonstrances of Washington, was at length secured. That great man was further harassed by a combination formed against himself and shared by Gates, whose friends contrasted his brilliant success against Burgoyne with the tardy, and, in many cases, unsuccessful movements of the commander-in-chief. Their representations made for some time a considerable impression upon congress, and even the public; but as the commander took no notice of this movement, and pursued the even and dignified tenor of his way, the cloud dispelled of itself. Although his force in Spring was reduced very low, Howe did not venture to attack, but, according to the representations formerly made, considered himself strong enough only for partial and detached expeditions, several of which were undertaken with success. Not being, however, supplied with reinforcements sufficient for any important enterprise, he

felt his situation painful and solicited his recall. Ministers, who probably hoped that a more enterprising commander might achieve some decisive successes, granted it, and named Clinton his successor. His officers, however, manifested their opinion of his merits by a brilliant fete on the occasion of his departure.

In June, the commissioners arrived with new offers of conciliation. They consisted of Governor Johnstone, Lord Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, gentlemen who had hitherto advocated against ministers the cause of America. The terms were more than had been originally asked, amounting in fact to every degree of independence compatible with a union of force against foreign powers, all alliance with whom was expected to be renounced. Smaller concessions would once have saved the colonies; but congress and the leading men had now taken a position whence they felt wholly disinclined to recede. Their minds, in the course of the war, had become more and more embittered against the mother country, and open to the pride of independent national existence and of alliance with the great powers of Europe. They could not but doubt whether terms, so hardly wrung from an extreme necessity, would, in changed circumstances, be executed in their full extent; while they themselves would always be viewed as hostile, and removed as much as possible from power. They do not seem to have ever deliberated, merely appointing a committee to prepare an answer. Its tenor was, that notwithstanding all their wrongs, they were willing to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce, provided Britain should begin by an explicit acknowledgment of their independence, or by withdrawing her fleets and armies. Indignation was expressed at the

manner in which their great and good ally, the King of France, was mentioned, and a full determination intimated of adhering to the connection. The commissioners wrote an explanatory paper, endeavouring to prove that every object of real importance was included in their offers; but as no new concession was made, it was determined to return no answer. Governor Johnstone had written letters to several members of congress, in which, besides public motives, private advantages were held out in case of their aiding the cause of reconciliation. The receivers laid them before congress, who immediately published them, with indignant comments, as attempts to gain the object by bribery.

The commissioners, thus vehemently repulsed by congress, determined to appeal to the particular states and to the nation at large. A manifesto and proclamation were drawn up, fully explaining all the advantages now offered, including the removal of every grievance hitherto complained of; reminding the people that to these overtures congress had refused even to listen, and asking if they were prepared to carry on a ruinous war, with no object but to throw themselves into the arms of a foreign power, so long their inveterate enemy. It was injudiciously added, that in such case warlike measures would be carried on with increased severity, so that if the country was to belong to France, its value might be diminished. Congress published this paper themselves, counteracted by ample comments.

Fearful for the safety of their army, the British ministers had sent orders to Howe to evacuate the city of Philadelphia and the river Delaware, without delay, lest the French fleet, which it was presumed would sail for

America in the spring, might entrap him, and cause the loss of both fleet and army.

Accordingly, the royal army crossed the Delaware into New Jersey, on the 18th of June. Washington had previously detached Maxwell's brigade to aid the Jersey militia in checking their march, whilst he should fall on their rear himself with the main body. The Americans crossed the Delaware in pursuit of the British, while six hundred men were detached under Morgan, to reinforce Maxwell. The British marched to Allentown, and there chose the road to Sandy Hook, to avoid crossing the Raritan, which they must have done, if they had marched direct to Amboy. They encamped on the 27th of June, near Freehold Courthouse, in Monmouth county. Washington sent General Wayne, with one thousand men, to reinforce the troops already on their lines. Lafayette was sent to command this division, which amounted to four thousand men, and Lee soon after joined them, with two additional brigades, and took charge of the whole. Morgan hovered on the right flank of the British, with his corps, and Dickinson was on the left, with eight hundred Jersey militia. Washington was three miles in the rear, with the main body. He determined to make an attack upon the British before they should reach the strong grounds about Middletown. Lee was ordered to maintain his dispositions for an attack, and to keep his troops constantly on their arms, so as to take advantage of the first movement of the enemy. Knyphausen led the van, with the baggage; and the best troops were placed in the rear, under Cornwallis.

At break of day, on the 28th of June, the royal army

began their march ; but the rear waited until eight o'clock in the morning. Lee followed them into the plains ; Clinton turned with his whole rear-division, to attack the Americans, and Lee began the engagement. Owing to some misunderstanding, part of the American forces began to retreat, and the rest soon followed in great disorder. Washington now came up, with the main body, and to his great astonishment and mortification, met the advanced division in full retreat, Lee intending to renew the battle on higher ground. Washington rode forward and addressed General Lee in warm terms of disapprobation ; yet his indignation could not get the better of his self-command ; and he immediately set himself to repair the error which had been committed. He ordered Lee to arrest the progress of the flying soldiers, whilst he brought up the main body to their assistance. Lee executed his orders with his characteristic courage and skill. A sharp conflict ensued, the Americans were compelled to retreat, and were this time brought off by Lee in good order. The British advanced, and attacked the second line of the Americans, which was strongly posted and made such a vigorous resistance, that the enemy were compelled to give way ; and at night Clinton withdrew his troops to a good position, where he remained till midnight, when he resumed his march, carrying most of his wounded along with him.

The Americans lost, in this battle, sixty-nine killed, and one hundred and forty wounded, whilst the British, after burying some of their dead in the night, left on the field of battle, two hundred and forty-seven killed, who were buried by the Americans. They left forty-four wounded, and took many others with them. Clin-

ton continued his retreat unmolested, owing to the bad state of the roads; but on his march through Jersey, a large number of his men, who had married in Philadelphia, deserted, and returned to that city. The British lost Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, and the Americans, Lieutenant-Colonel Bonner and Major Dickenson, all able officers. Washington moved towards the Hudson, and D'Estaing sailed up the Delaware, with twelve ships of the line and three frigates, not ten days after Howe had quitted it; when, finding his enemy gone, he sailed for New York, and blockaded the British fleet in the harbour.

After the battle some imbittered correspondence passed between Washington and Lee who was thereupon brought before a court-martial, charged with having made a disorderly retreat, and shown disrespect to his commander. He was found guilty, and suspended from all command for a year, and in fact never again joined the army.

No sooner had France openly declared in favour of the States, than she fitted out and sent to their aid a fleet of twelve sail of the line, under Count D'Estaing; while Britain despatched Commodore Byron with one of equal strength. Both were delayed by contrary winds, and though the French admiral arrived first, he did not reach the Chesapeake till the British fleet and army had passed on the way to New York. Thither he followed, and reconnoitred the entrance of the harbour; but Lord Howe, though with only half his force, made such judicious dispositions, that D'Estaing judged it imprudent to attack. He was next invited to assist in operations against Rhode Island, still held by a considerable English force. General Sullivan, on the land side, was re-

inforced by New England militia, and by a detachment from the main army, under Lafayette, making in all ten thousand men. Howe hesitated not to approach; but a violent storm prevented the fleets from engaging, and allowed only a few conflicts between single ships, in which the British had the advantage. D'Estaing complained that his squadron was thus so severely shattered, as rendered it necessary to go and refit at Boston; which he did, without regard to the warmest remonstrances from Greene and Lafayette. Sullivan was thus left in a critical situation; a force came hastily from New York, sufficient to overwhelm him, and he was considered to have great merit in effecting a precipitate retreat, with only the dispersion of a part of his army. Byron soon after arrived, and reinforced Howe, when both fleets were placed under Admiral Gambier; and the English became completely superior at sea. The American press raised loud murmurs at the inefficient support afforded by their powerful ally, from whom so much had been expected. This was an additional trouble to Washington, who dreaded umbrage between the two nations, and made studied apologies to the French officers for the rash language of his countrymen.

He did not attempt any further offensive movements this campaign; and Clinton took occasion to attack some of the principal privateering stations. On Acusnet River, in Buzzard's Bay, General Grey destroyed seventy sail of ships, and numerous storehouses; and from the island named Martha's Vineyard a large supply of sheep and cattle was drawn. At a noted rendezvous, however, named Egg Point, the success was imperfect, a great part of the shipping having escaped. On these occasions,

plunder and outrage seem to have been practised to an unjustifiable extent against known privateers. The Americans, through the report of the French alliance, had obtained the evacuation of Philadelphia; but in every other respect their hopes of this campaign had been miserably disappointed. Their pride, however, was gratified by the arrival, at Philadelphia, of the French ambassador, Gerard, a highly respected individual, by whose agency, chiefly, the treaty had been concluded.

In the course of this Summer, the western country had been the scene of most distressing events; the feuds between the independents and loyalists having raged with peculiar violence in this wild region. The latter complained, probably not without reason, that the rigorous laws enacted against them were enforced with severe aggravations, and many sought an asylum beyond the limits of the colonies. There they found themselves among the Indians, a race always bitterly hostile to the white borderers, and easily excited to the most daring enterprises. Unhappily, the passions of the refugees were worked up to such violence, that instead of urging a milder mode of warfare, they stimulated these allies to deeds of more than their wonted barbarity. Wyoming, a flourishing settlement on the Pennsylvania frontier, was suddenly assailed, the slender militia force which defended it overpowered, and the inhabitants exposed to all the horrors of Indian vengeance and massacre. From the lateness of the season, only a few partial attempts could be made to retaliate. Next spring, however, General Sullivan was despatched with four thousand men, and joined by General Clinton with another division from the Mohawk River. They entered the terri-

tory of the Indians, who, quite unable to resist so large a force, abandoned their homes and fled before them. The villages were then reduced to ashes, every trace of cultivation obliterated, and the region rendered as much as possible uninhabitable. This rigour is said to have been authorized by Washington, and justified on the ground, that without interposing a desert between the States and this savage race, no security could be enjoyed on the frontier.

The attention of congress and of the commander was now called to plans for the campaign of 1779. The former, looking to their previous successes, and the powerful co-operation of France, cherished the most brilliant expectations, and had formed schemes truly magnificent. Concluding that the English would be speedily expelled, or would of their own accord depart from America, the chief object was to be the invasion of Canada, from three different points, the French being invited to co-operate. Washington, on learning this vast design, took the utmost pains to prove its futility. He disclosed to them the painful truths, that the English were still so powerful both by land and sea, as to afford no speedy prospect of their complete expulsion; while the exhausted state of the finances, the imperfect organization of the army, and the extreme destitution under which it laboured, furnished no means whatever for carrying on such mighty operations. A committee of congress, on further consideration, recommended that the project should be deferred; yet the members still clung to it, fondly contemplating its execution some time before the season closed, and wishing communications to be opened on that subject with the French court.

The general, considering the project, even thus modified, as still quite inadmissible, repaired to Philadelphia, where he urged strongly all his former arguments, and confidentially pointed out to the leading statesmen the danger of admitting France into a country where she had so long ruled, and whose people bore still decided traces of her relationship. It appears, indeed, that, probably from the dread of embarrassment in some future negotiation, that power by no means favoured schemes of American conquest. Washington at last succeeded in convincing congress, that instead of these grand measures of invasion, they must limit themselves, during the present campaign, to a course strictly defensive.

In fact, both the civil and military strength of the Union was now at a lower ebb than at any time since the struggle commenced. The members of congress had originally consisted of the ablest men in America animated by the most ardent zeal, and implicitly obeyed by all the votaries of their cause. After the declaration of independence, however, a new modification of the government was considered necessary. A constitution was drawn up, and, after many delays and difficulties, brought into operation, early in 1779, under which the state legislatures were invested with all the most important powers, resigning only a few which were judged indispensable for united action. Congress still retained the direction of foreign affairs, of the war, and consequently of the naval and military force; but to furnish men and supplies for these services they had no resource, except requisitions addressed to the state legislatures. The latter had the complete option whether they should or should not comply, and had many motives which

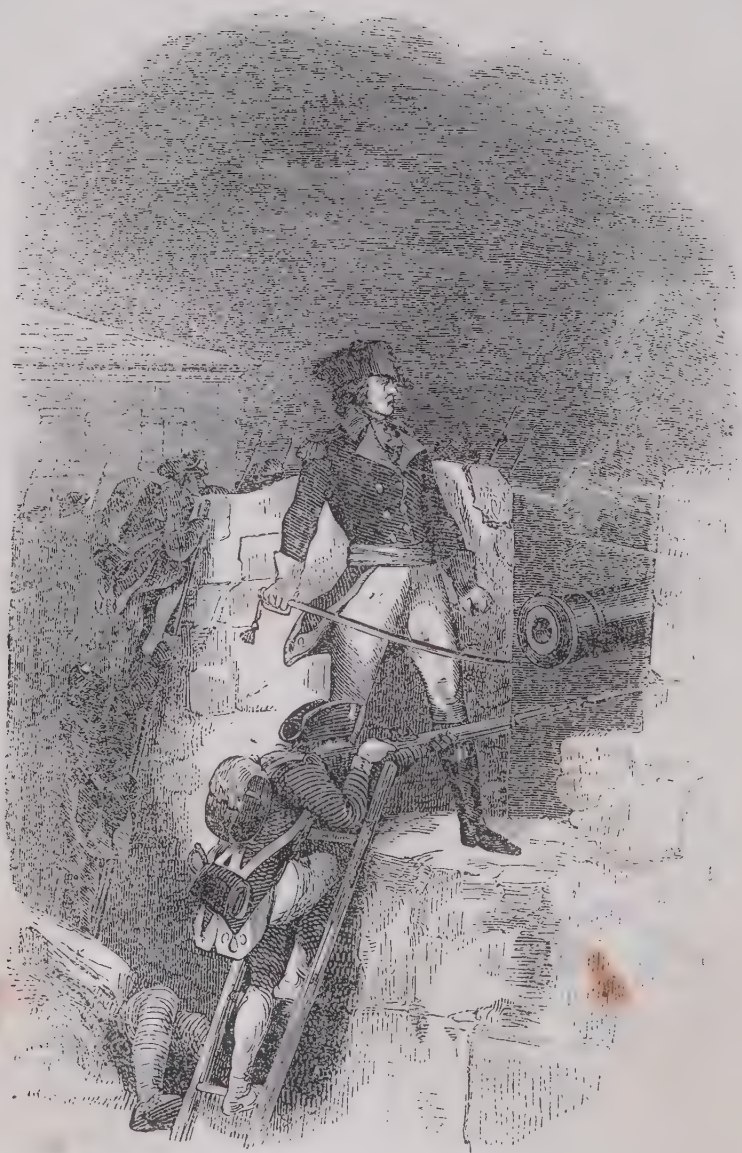
strongly inclined them to the latter alternative; indeed compliance could only be afforded by measures very unpopular, and which would have much disobliged their constituents. The demands of congress were thus only partially and unequally fulfilled, and the levies never approached the amount at which they were nominally fixed.

The financial state of the country, too, was embarrassing in the extreme. The colonists, at the beginning of the war, had been very little accustomed to any serious taxation; and having taken arms expressly to resist it, would have ill brooked paying a larger amount for their expenses than Britain had ever demanded. It was not till November, 1777, that congress ventured to make a requisition of five millions of dollars annually, to which the states but faintly responded. France and Spain gave some assistance, first in gift, and then in loan; but as their own finances grew embarrassed, these contributions became very stinted. The commissioners endeavoured to treat for loans with European capitalists, especially in Holland, and with this view drew a flattering picture of the future prosperity of the new republic, and her ultimate power to repay even the largest advances; but the Dutch were not inclined to be satisfied with such security, and money could be got only in small amount, and on exorbitant terms. One house made a somewhat liberal offer, but on condition of carrying on the whole trade of the Union, and holding all its real and personal property in mortgage. In these circumstances, the States had no resource except paper-money. In 1775, they issued three millions of dollars; and this moderate amount being easily absorbed in the circula-

tion, proved an available resource. They were thus encouraged to pour forth repeated issues, which at the beginning of 1779 had risen to above a hundred millions, and in the course of the year to double that amount, which they had pledged themselves not to exceed. The necessary consequence was a depreciation of the notes to about a fortieth of their nominal value, and hence a miserable derangement in all mercantile and money transactions. The evil was aggravated, too, by preposterous remedies. The paper at its nominal value was made a legal tender for all debts; and by this iniquitous measure, which Washington deeply regretted, many creditors both public and private were defrauded, but no permanent relief could be afforded. As the articles furnished to the army, like all others, rose to an enormous nominal value, they were so ignorant as to fix a maximum, above which they should not be received. The consequence was, that at this inadequate rate none could be got; and the army would have perished had not this absurd regulation been rescinded.

In Europe, however, a transaction took place highly auspicious to the American cause. Spain, after long hesitation, determined to join the confederacy, and on the 12th of April, 1779, concluded for that purpose a secret treaty with France. She had for some time offered and even pressed herself as a mediator, having ultimately proposed a congress of all the contending powers at Madrid, and during the negotiation, a general suspension of arms; but as it was made a condition that in the mean time the colonies were to remain actually independent, Britain, though without expressing any hostile feeling, declared such terms inadmissible. The





CAPTURE OF STONY POINT.

other party, however, was not disposed to stop here. On the 16th of June, D'Almadovar, the Spanish ambassador, took his departure, after delivering a note, complaining not only of the rejection of his sovereign's friendly overtures, but of sundry violences committed on his subjects in the course of the war, and for which he was determined to seek redress. This was followed by a long manifesto, in which grievances were enumerated to the number of eighty-six, and the necessity stated of reducing the British maritime power. These documents were soon answered by letters of marque, followed by open war. The American leaders felt extraordinary exultation, imagining that Britain would never be able to cope with a union of so many powers. She roused herself, however, mightily to resist this new aggression; voluntary aids were poured in both by individuals and public bodies; and she showed herself able, not only to contend with the united navies of the Bourbons, but even to bring again into jeopardy the independence of her revolted colonies.

Their interior strength, as already observed, by no means corresponded with the splendour of their foreign relations; and Washington had clearly demonstrated to congress the expediency of confining themselves to a defensive warfare. Clinton, on the other hand, did not attempt to penetrate far into the interior from New York; but engaged in some extensive expeditions for the destruction of stores and shipping. The most important was undertaken in May, by a squadron under Sir George Collier, upon whom the command of the naval force had now devolved, and having on board eighteen hundred men commanded by General Matthews.

The object was the naval yard at Gosport on the Chesapeake, with the military stores and shipping at Portsmouth and Norfolk, the two chief seats of commerce in Virginia. The only defence was a fort with one hundred and fifty men, on Elizabeth river near Portsmouth; and this garrison, considering themselves too weak to resist, fled into a morass called the Dismal Swamp. The British took up their head-quarters there; and in the course of a few days made a complete sweep of every thing that was to be found on this range of coast, destroying or taking one hundred and twenty-seven vessels, and other property valued at half a million sterling. Clinton, however, very judiciously did not divide his army by any permanent establishment.

Immediately on their return to New York, the fleet and army were employed in an expedition on the Hudson. King's Ferry, about sixty miles up, and near the entrance of the highlands, formed the most convenient communication across the river for Washington's army, whose wings occupied both banks. It was defended by two opposite forts, Stony Point, and Verplank's Point, which were both attacked. The first being unfinished, was at once evacuated; and the garrison of the other, after a vain attempt at resistance, was obliged to surrender. Clinton caused the two places to be put in a state of defence; but operations were not pushed farther in this direction.

The next enterprise was against the coast of Connecticut, which had been a very extensive and successful theatre of privateering operations; and on the 3d of July, two thousand six hundred men sailed under Sir George Collier and General Tryon, governor of New

York. New Haven was soon captured, the militia making a vain attempt to resist. There is stated to have been an intention to burn the town, which was laudably changed into the mere seizure of the stores and vessels. At Fairfield and Norwalk, a greater resistance was encountered; and both these places were nearly reduced to ashes. In apology it is said, that the people had fired from the windows, and that they placed an undue confidence in the safety of their property through British forbearance, which it was necessary to dispel; but these reasons are far from satisfactory. A proposed attack on New London was interrupted by a counter project of Washington, who was anxious to do something to efface the impression of so many losses. It being understood that the newly-captured forts on the Hudson were little apprehensive of any attack, General Wayne was sent with a detachment, and reached Stony Point undiscovered at midnight of the 15th of July, when after a desperate but short struggle, he carried the place. The garrison, five hundred and forty-three in number, were made prisoners, and treated with great humanity. The opposite fort was also attempted, but without success; and the first, being then thought untenable, was demolished and abandoned; but Clinton re-occupied and repaired it.

An expedition was also sent in June, from Boston, against a station on the river Penobscot, formed by a detachment under Colonel Maclean from Nova Scotia. Above three thousand militia, under General Lovell, effected a landing on the peninsular point occupied by the English; but the works appeared to him too strong to be carried without the aid of regular troops, which

were promised by General Gates. Before their arrival however, Sir George Collier appeared in the river with a squadron from New York, when Lovell re-embarked his troops, and formed with his ships a crescent across the river, making a show of resistance, till, seeing his adversary bearing up with superior force, he took to flight, and having no retreat, his fleet of six frigates and nine smaller vessels was entirely destroyed. The men escaped on shore, but had to penetrate through a long extent of desert, in which many perished. This blow was slightly compensated by the surprise of Powles Hook, a fort immediately opposite to New York. Being far within the British lines, the commander yielded to a culpable security; from which, about three in the morning of the 18th of August, he was roused by Major Lee, who entered the place without resistance, and made one hundred and fifty-nine prisoners. Circumstances did not allow the captor to retain it, and he found some difficulty in retreating.

More important military operations took place in the southern states, which had not hitherto become a theatre of war. Already, in the close of 1778, Clinton had despatched a force against Georgia, whose inhabitants were reported as favourable to the mother-country. Colonel Campbell, the commander, arrived at Savannah, the capital, about the end of December, and summoned the place. The Americans were commanded by a General Howe, whose force had been weakened by an unsuccessful expedition into Florida; nevertheless he drew it up in a strong position, covered by a swamp in front, and with the town in his rear. The British officer, however, received intelligence of a private path unknown

to the Americans, and detached a column under Sir James Baird, which got unperceived into their rear. Being then attacked at once on all sides, they were completely routed, with the loss of their artillery, stores, and nearly five hundred prisoners. They precipitately retreated into South Carolina, leaving all Lower Georgia in the hands of the invaders. The inhabitants were found extremely well disposed; and, being treated in a conciliatory manner, readily formed themselves into corps for the defence of the country. General Prevost then entered from Florida, and without difficulty reduced Sunbury, the only fortress still held by the adverse party. Having assumed the command of the forces from New York, he despatched Campbell to Augusta, capital of the upper territory, the reduction of which completed that of the state.

Congress, meantime, even before this landing, had planned the reduction of East Florida, and hence had recalled Howe, supplying his place by Lincoln, an officer of much higher reputation, who had been second under Gates against Burgoyne. He found every thing in the most unprepared state; and before being able to put any force in motion, learned the total defeat of his predecessor, and the conquest of Georgia. He could then aim only at covering South Carolina; and the river Savannah formed so strong a barrier, that the British general did not attempt to cross. Meantime, about seven hundred royalist refugees, whom the severities of their countrymen had driven to take shelter among the Indians, attempted to rejoin the king's forces. Being attacked, however, by Colonel Pickens with a body of militia, Colonel Boyd, their commander, was killed, and only

three hundred reached their destination. Several of the prisoners, were tried and put to death.

Lincoln, encouraged by this success, and being daily reinforced, caused General Ashe with fourteen hundred men to cross the Savannah, and take post at its junction with Brier Creek, a stream unfordable for some miles up, and appearing completely to secure his front. It was thus hoped to exclude the English from Augusta and all the upper territories. Colonel Prevost, however, brother to the general, making a circuit of fifty miles, and crossing at fords fifteen miles above, came unexpectedly on the rear of this body, and totally routed them, the regular troops, after attempting resistance, being all either killed or taken. Notwithstanding this disaster, Lincoln, again reinforced, determined to proceed with his main body against Augusta. Prevost, instead of a long and harassing march in that direction, sought to recall him by a movement against Charleston; but intending only a feint, he proceeded with a leisure which he found reason to regret, as it appears had all practicable speed been employed, that capital would have fallen into his hands. The alarm, however, had been given, and such active preparations made, that he did not venture to attack, but distributed his troops in the neighbouring island of St. John. Lincoln, who had hastened down, made an attempt to beat up his quarters, without success; and the midsummer heat causing a suspension of military operations, the British troops retired unmolested into Georgia.

This state of affairs in the southern colonies called imperiously for the attention of congress, and Washington found it necessary to detach thither some part even

of his reduced army. He solicited more powerful aid from D'Estaing, who then commanded in the West Indies an army sufficiently powerful to crush entirely the English in Georgia. The French admiral received this application just after having fought a hard battle against Commodore Byron without any decisive result, yet such as obliged the latter to go into port to refit. The former being thus for a time master of the sea, determined at once to comply with the request, took on board six thousand land-troops, and steered direct for Savannah, where, arriving quite unexpectedly, he captured by surprise a fifty-gun ship and three frigates. Prevost, too, was very unprepared, having his force broken up into detachments distributed along the frontier; but these being instantly ordered in, obeyed with such promptitude that before the French had landed and formed a junction with Lincoln, nearly all had arrived. On the 16th of September, D'Estaing appeared before the place and summoned it to surrender. Prevost, under pretext of negotiation, obtained a suspension for twenty-four hours, during which Colonel Maitland entered with the last and largest detachment, eluding the Americans by a route supposed impassable; and the full determination to resist was then announced. The allies, on reconnoitring the works, deemed it imprudent to attempt them by storm, and were obliged to wait a few days till the heavy ordnance and stores could be brought from the fleet. They broke ground on the 23d of September; but the defence was conducted with great vigour and skill, under the direction of Major Moncrieff, a very able engineer; so that notwithstanding some progress made by the 1st of October, an interval must still elapse

before surrender could be expected. D'Estaing then refused to adventure his fleet longer on this insecure coast, in a tempestuous season, and while liable to attack from the British squadron refitted and reinforced; yet before departing, he offered to concur in an attempt to carry the place by storm. This was agreed to; and a hollow way being observed, by which troops could advance to within fifty yards of the wall, four thousand five hundred men, the flower of the combined army, undertook to penetrate it, while the rest amused the garrison by feigned attacks. This party pushed on with great vigour; they had even crossed the ditch, mounted the parapet, and planted their standards on the wall. Being here exposed, however, to a tremendous fire from the works well constructed and completely manned, they soon gave way; Count Pulaski was killed, and a brisk attack by Major Glaziers drove the whole back into the hollow. They then renounced the attack, having sustained the severe loss of seven hundred French and two hundred and thirty-four Americans killed and wounded; while that of the besieged was only fifty-five. The French admiral no longer paused in embarking his troops and sailing for the West Indies; thus a second time disappointing sanguine expectations, and leaving the American cause in a worse state than before.

Clinton, on learning this success, determined finally to begin operations on a great scale in the southern states. Recent information showed them to be more defenceless, and the inhabitants better inclined to the dominion of the parent state, than those on the great northern theatre of war; while their reduction might facilitate that of the others, or at all events preserve for Britain an im-

portant portion of her American territory. He had recently obtained a reinforcement from home, and had withdrawn the force hitherto stationed with little advantage upon Rhode Island. On the 26th of December, 1779, leaving Knyphausen with troops sufficient to defend New York against the ill-organized army of Washington, he sailed with five thousand men for Savannah. The voyage was most tempestuous, and prolonged till the end of January; some of the vessels were wrecked, and nearly all the horses perished. He exerted himself actively to repair these losses; and by the middle of February had re-embarked and landed on St. John's Island, near Charleston. Some time was spent in recruiting and reinforcing his troops and remounting his cavalry; while Lincoln was actively strengthening the garrison, and restoring the works which since the memorable attack in May, had fallen into almost complete decay. He succeeded in assembling above two thousand regulars, one thousand militia, and a great body of armed citizens; but the chief hope, which was soon proved to be fallacious, rested on preventing the British from crossing the bar, as the fleet, under a favourable wind and tide, passed with scarcely any opposition. Lincoln then seriously deliberated on evacuating the place and saving his army; but he dreaded popular reproach, and was buoyed up with promises of reinforcements that never arrived. On the 1st of April, Clinton crossed the Ashley, which, with Cooper River, incloses the peninsula of Charleston, and broke ground before the city. On the 9th, the first parallel was completed, and the maritime blockade rendered very close; yet the garrison still communicated with the country by

their cavalry at Monk's Corner, about thirty miles up Cooper River. Colonel Tarleton, by a circuitous route, came upon this body so unexpectedly, that though they held their horses bridled and saddled, they were attacked before they had time to mount, routed, and completely dispersed. The British soon after received a reinforcement of three thousand; when Lincoln seriously proposed an attempt to extricate his army; but the principal inhabitants, entertaining a groundless dread of ill treatment from the captors, prevailed upon him only to offer a capitulation on condition of the garrison being still allowed to serve. This proposal was at once rejected; the siege was steadily pushed; all the outward posts successively fell; two detachments of cavalry which had rallied were by the active movements of Tarleton again dissipated; and the third parallel being completed, preparations were made for a general assault. Lincoln, then seeing his situation hopeless, submitted to the terms proffered by the victor, that all the military stores should be given up, the regular troops made prisoners of war, while the militia, on giving their parole, might return and remain unmolested at their homes. The prisoners taken were stated by Clinton at five thousand six hundred and eighteen, with one thousand seamen, and three hundred and eleven pieces of ordnance.

There never was a triumph more complete, nor which seemed more to assure the reunion to Britain of at least a large portion of her revolted colonies. With very small exceptions, the whole military force stationed in the southern states, including all its means and implements of war, was at once captured. A great proportion of the inhabitants loudly testified their satisfaction,

and the rest gave at least a silent acquiescence. There was scarcely a soldier in Georgia and South Carolina who was not either a prisoner or in arms for Britain. North Carolina was well known as a decided seat of royalism, and Clinton had secret assurances, as soon as he should reach that province, of powerful support. He now published a proclamation, promising to the people a renewal of all their former privileges, with the addition of not being taxed unless by their own consent. Soon after, he issued another, absolving the militia from their paroles, and calling upon them to join with other citizens in aiding the British cause. This step was much complained of, and with reason, as involving a breach of faith; and the policy seems doubtful of not allowing the enemies of Britain to remain in a state of silent and passive submission.

On the 5th of June, Clinton set sail for New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis with four thousand men to secure, and if he could, extend his conquests. Detachments had already been sent up the principal rivers, Savannah, Saluda, and Santee. On the last only, a party of four hundred, under Colonel Burford, was rapidly retreating. Though ten days in advance, they were overtaken by the rapid march of Tarleton, and at Waxhaw's completely routed and dispersed. The principal force was then advanced to Camden on the Wateree, near the frontier of North Carolina; but the intense heat, with the difficulty of provisioning the army till the corn was on the ground, rendered a delay necessary. The loyalists in that province were advised to remain quiet till a powerful support could be brought forward; but their ardent zeal could not be restrained,

and broke out in several insurrections, which were suppressed and punished with a rigour tending to deter from similar attempts in future.

Extreme alarm was felt by the American government on receiving intelligence of these events; and amid the greatest obstacles, it was necessary to make vigorous efforts to retrieve their affairs. Washington made arrangements for the march of the troops in Maryland and Delaware, and for calling out the militia of Virginia and North Carolina. He placed them under the Baron de Kalb, a veteran German officer; but congress soon after conferred the chief command on Gates, hoping that the conqueror of Burgoyne might again turn the tide of fortune. Notwithstanding the utmost despatch, the want of money, military stores, and provisions, detained him so long, that though the expedition set out in March, it was the beginning of August before he could approach Camden, with about four thousand men, mostly militia. He advanced in the determination to push vigorously offensive operations, hoping to induce Lord Rawdon to fall back upon Charleston. That officer, however, had given notice to Cornwallis, who hastened to the spot, and though the troops, from disease and other causes, had been reduced to little more than two thousand, he resolved without hesitation to attack. He had set out in the night of the 15th, with a view to surprise the Americans, when, by a singular concurrence, he met Gates in full march with the same design against himself. The advanced guard of the latter was driven in, when both parties thought it advisable to postpone the general action till daylight. In the American line, De Kalb, with most of the regulars, commanded on the right, while the militia

of Carolina formed the centre, and that of Virginia the left. The conflict began with the last, who were attacked by the British infantry, under Colonel Webster, with such impetuosity, that they threw down their arms and precipitately fled. The whole of the left and centre were very speedily off the field, few having fired a shot, and still fewer carrying away a musket. Gates was borne along by the torrent, and after vain attempts to rally his men, gave up all for lost, and never stopped till he reached Charlotte, eighty miles distant. Meantime, De Kalb, on the right, opposed to Lord Rawdon, long and firmly maintained his ground gaining even some advantage; and it was not till the victorious divisions had wheeled round against him, that his corps was broken and dispersed. He himself, covered with wounds, became a captive, and, notwithstanding every care, expired in a few hours. About one thousand prisoners were taken, and the whole army was scattered. Gates seems manifestly to have erred in fighting a pitched battle with an army consisting chiefly of militia, and Tarleton particularly censures him for having composed of them so great a part of his regular line, instead of merely employing them to skirmish on his front and flanks; but, in fact, his veteran force seems to have scarcely sufficed for a duly extended order of battle.

There was still some resistance to overcome. The malcontents in South Carolina, recovering from their first panic, had begun to rise at different points. The militia, complaining that the terms granted had not been duly observed, disregarded their own engagements, being even encouraged to violate them by a proclamation of Gates; so that a number, after joining the royal banner,

went over to the Americans; one Colonel Lisle carried with him a whole battalion. Thus were assembled, under Colonel Sumpter, an active partisan, upwards of six hundred, raised, by a detachment from the main army to about one thousand. He was repulsed in attacks upon the stations called Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock; but, on the evening before the battle of Camden, succeeded in carrying a strong redoubt on the Wateree, taking above one hundred prisoners. On learning the fatal issue of that day, he instantly began his retreat, and reached with such celerity the fords of the Catawba, that he considered himself safe, and allowed his men to repose during the heat of the day. But nothing could escape the indefatigable ardour of Tarleton, who had been sent in pursuit. His rapidity was such, that the greater part of his corps could not follow him from fatigue; but with one hundred and sixty only he came up, and found the Americans completely unprepared, their videttes asleep, and the men lying apart from their arms. Roused from slumber by the attack of this daring little band, they scarcely attempted resistance; and after a short struggle, about half were captured, the others dispersed. They lost one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, besides three hundred and ten prisoners; all their stores were taken, and the British captives recovered.

Cornwallis, having thus become master of a considerable number of prisoners, proceeded against them with rigour; several, who had joined the British militia and then deserted from the ranks, were executed as traitors. This measure is inveighed against by the Americans and their advocates with a good deal of inconsistency. Their

government had early denounced the penalties of treason and death against all who should join the British standard; and this, in repeated instances, had been executed, without calling forth any disapprobation from their opponents. Such conduct was not to be imitated by the British commander; but there was here the gross aggravation of having entered the service, received arms and equipments, and gone immediately over with them to the enemy,—treachery which seems to admit of no palliation. The estates, too, of all those who joined the malcontents were confiscated,—an example early and uniformly set by congress; yet some abatement in its rigour might perhaps have been laudably and prudently made.

After a few weeks' delay on account of the heat, the British general advanced to Charlotte Town, in North Carolina. Meantime, a corps of about sixteen hundred loyal militia having been assembled, under Major Ferguson, an active partisan, he was directed to move westward, and clear the territory along the foot of the mountains. He was led farther in this direction by the movements of a hostile party which threatened Augusta, where he approached and roused into action a class marked as terrible foes to the British cause. The borderers, who roved along the sides of the Alleghany, were, if possible, ruder and bolder than the boys of the Green Mountain. They rode on light fleet horses, carrying only their rifle, a blanket, and knapsack. Food was procured by the gun, or on its occasional failure, from a small herd of cattle driven before them. At night, the earth was their bed, the sky their canopy. They thus moved with a swiftness which no ordinary troops could

rival. Ferguson, having learned that about three thousand of these daring mountaineers had mustered against him, began a rapid retreat upon the main body; but being informed that sixteen hundred of the fleetest and boldest had been formed into a select band in chase of him, and seeing the hopelessness of escaping their almost preternatural swiftness, he took post on King's Mountain, and awaited their attack. They came up on the 7th of October, and began to ascend the mountain in three divisions. Ferguson charged the first, and drove it back with the bayonet; and wherever this weapon could be used, he was victorious; but the assailants clustered round on every side, and from beneath the covert of trees and steeps discharged their rifles with almost unerring aim. The British soon began to fall in great numbers, and when their commander himself received a mortal wound, the whole party were routed, three hundred killed and wounded, the rest completely dispersed. In retaliation of Cornwallis' proceedings at Camden, ten of the principal captives were hanged on the spot.

Cornwallis, meanwhile, had pushed on to Salisbury, approaching Virginia; and in expectation of his reaching that state, a reinforcement destined for him, under General Leslie, was ordered to enter the Chesapeake. Learning, however, this dreadful catastrophe, and fearing that so numerous a band might overrun and spread insurrection in South Carolina, he judged it necessary to fall back upon that colony; and Leslie was instructed to join by the circuitous route of Charleston. The alarm leading to this retrograde movement proved, in a great measure, unfounded. That tumultuary mass, roused by

a local impulse, having accomplished their immediate object, could not be prevented from dispersing, and the partisan warfare was continued by only two small bodies. Marion, though holding together only from fifty to two hundred men, severely harassed the British, keeping himself so well covered by woods and marshes, that even Tarleton could not hunt him down. Sumpter, too, after being entirely routed by that officer, had again assembled a considerable corps of mounted militia, and threatened some important posts. His former enemy not being at hand, Major Wemyss was employed, and soon came up with him; but being early wounded, and his troops unskilled in this species of warfare, he suffered a severe repulse. It was then necessary to have recourse to Tarleton, and give him a considerable force. Using his accustomed despatch, he had nearly got in the rear of his adversary, who, as soon as he learned to whom he was opposed, hurried by rapid marches to the Tyger, whose rapid stream once passed, would secure his retreat. Tarleton, seeing that with his whole force he could not be in time to prevent this movement, adopted his former plan of pushing forward with two hundred and fifty cavalry and mounted infantry. He found his opponent strongly posted on the bank of the river, and with his wonted promptitude rushed forward to the attack. The conflict, however, was obstinate and bloody, and he was finally obliged, with considerable loss, to fall back on his infantry. Sumpter then crossed the river; but his men had been so severely handled, that they lost courage and dispersed; so that his opponent reaped all the fruits of victory.

Gates, meantime, used diligent exertions to collect and

reorganize the remains of his defeated army; and congress amid every difficulty, forwarded to him reinforcements. He incurred, however, the reproach to which the unfortunate are usually exposed, Washington being called upon to institute an inquiry into his conduct, and to nominate another commander. Having formerly rendered himself obnoxious to the general-in-chief, no objection was made, and Greene was named, with the assurance that a commander had been furnished, provided troops and means could be supplied. This announcement was amply fulfilled; yet Gates was considered hardly treated, especially as his first intimation was the arrival of his successor to take the command, who bore testimony that, on this trying occasion, he behaved in a handsome and honourable manner.

When Greene arrived, on the 2d of December, the army had been raised to nearly two thousand men, of whom the larger number were regulars. Determining by some movements to support the cause in South Carolina, he detached Morgan, a very able partisan, to take post on the Broad River, and endeavour to cut off Cornwallis, then at Winnsborough, from the upper country. He had about six hundred men, with the expectation of assembling more in the district. On learning this movement, Tarleton was immediately despatched with one thousand men to resist the inroad. The American at first abandoned his camp, and began a rapid retreat; but finding this difficult, and his forces being nearly equal, he resolved to await the attack at Cowpens, a spot three miles from the boundary of the Carolinas. Avoiding the fault of Gates, he disposed his militia in front, keeping in reserve a chosen body, on whom he could

fully depend. On the 17th of January, Tarleton came up, and immediately rushed to the charge. The first American line was soon broken, and hastily retreated into the rear of the second, which was then attacked, and thrown into some confusion, when Morgan ordered the men to fall back and unite with the reserve. This movement was mistaken for a flight by the assailants, who pushed on exultingly, in somewhat irregular order. Suddenly the Americans, having fully adjusted their line, halted, wheeled round, and commenced a destructive fire on their pursuers, who being seen to falter, a charge was made with the bayonet, and by the cavalry with their drawn swords. After a short contest, the lately victorious British were completely routed, and nearly the whole infantry surrounded and obliged to surrender. The cavalry escaped by flight; but upwards of one hundred were killed, and five hundred made prisoners. Tarleton declares himself quite unable to account for so total a rout. He appears in fact to have attacked in his usual impetuous manner, on the calculation of encountering mostly loose militia levies, whereas the greater part of the opposing force was veteran; even two of the militia companies consisted of regulars recently discharged. The British army suffered thus most severely, having lost all its light infantry, a corps particularly useful in such warfare; nor was it a small evil that the fame of the commander as an almost invincible partisan officer was deeply tarnished.

Cornwallis, however, having just received the reinforcement of two thousand six hundred men under Leslie, determined to efface the impression of this disaster by a series of the most active offensive operations. De-

stroying all his surperfluous baggage, he supplied the loss of his light infantry by converting the whole army nearly into a corps of that description. His first hope was to overtake Morgan, and recover all that was lost, which he had so nearly effected that his van reached the Catawba on the 29th of January, only two hours after the enemy had passed ; when a torrent of rain swelled the waters and rendered it impossible for him to follow. Greene, who had hastened to take the command, hoped to defend the passage of this river, but it was forced on the 1st of February at a private ford defended by Colonel Davidson, who was defeated and killed. Tarleton then surprised and dispersed a body of militia assembled at a neighbouring inn. The American general, considering himself wholly unable to hazard a battle, retreated before his adversary, who presently began a chase, which was continued incessantly and rapidly across the whole of North Carolina. On the night of the 2d of February, the two divisions of the American army having effected a junction, crossed the Yadkin, but so closely followed, that their rear skirmished with the van of the enemy, and part of their baggage was taken. By another favourable chance, heavy rain fell during the night, and in the morning rendered the river impassable ; so that Cornwallis was obliged to make a circuit to its upper fords, while his opponent continued his retreat. He marched towards the Dan, the chief branch of the Roanoke, which flows nearly along the boundary of Carolina and Virginia. It was a broad unfordable stream, and Greene, if he reached the other side, would be in safety ; but the pursuit was continued in the confident hope of his being unable to find vessels sufficient to transport

over his troops. This was indeed the case at the ferry immediately before him; but by an able movement he led his army twenty miles downward to two others, sending a detachment to bring the boats from the upper one. He thus collected a sufficient number, and by extraordinary exertions had his army ferried over, his rear reaching the northern bank just as the English van appeared on the southern. This march, or rather hunt, was considered highly creditable to both parties. Greene gained great applause on account of his disadvantageous situation, fleeing before a superior enemy who pursued with such rapidity, yet placing in safety not only his army, but the greater part of his heavy baggage; still it must be owned that he was in several instances singularly favoured by fortune.

Cornwallis now gave up the pursuit, and repaired to Hillsborough, with the view of calling out and organizing the royalist force. His adherents, though here peculiarly strong, did not come forward to the extent expected. The larger portion, as elsewhere, regarded the cause with that passive and inert attachment which we have remarked to be generally prevalent; and even the more zealous, having suffered severely by former premature displays, dreaded lest the republican cause should regain the ascendancy. The view also of the distress and exhaustion of the British troops, after so long a march, was by no means alluring. Yet seven companies were formed, and detachments began to come in from different quarters. On the other hand, Greene, having obtained a reinforcement of Virginia militia, repassed the Dan, and with his light troops endeavoured to annoy the British army and prevent recruiting. Major

Lee surprised a detachment of royalists, who mistook him for Tarleton, and cut them nearly to pieces. On account of the exhausted state of the country at Hillsborough, Cornwallis withdrew to a position on the Allimance Creek, between Haw and Deep Rivers, where he could be better supplied, and support his friends, who were there numerous. Greene, however, by an active use of his cavalry and light troops, severely harassed his opponent; and by changing his own position every night, eluded the attempt to bring him to an engagement.

At length, the American general, having received reinforcements, which raised his army to above four thousand two hundred men, of whom about a third were regulars, determined to offer battle. This was what the other had eagerly sought; yet his own effective force being reduced to somewhat under two thousand, he felt now some hesitation, and probably would have acted more wisely in maintaining the defensive. Even the enterprising Tarleton observes, that in his circumstances defeat would have been total ruin, while any victory he might expect to gain could yield little fruit. All the habits and views of Cornwallis, however, being directed to an active campaign, he formed his resolution, and on the 15th of March proceeded to the attack. Greene had drawn up his army very judiciously, near Guildford Court-house, mostly on a range of hills covered with trees and brushwood. Adopting still the system of making the militia bear the first brunt, he placed that of Carolina in the front, while the Virginia, considered somewhat better, formed the second line, and he remained in the third with the continental troops, in whom alone he placed full confidence. The British, proceeding with

impetuosity, and having driven in the advanced guard of cavalry, attacked the Carolina line, who, scarcely discharging their muskets, fled precipitately after the first hostile fire, and many even before. This front having gone for nothing, the next movement was against the Virginians, who stood their ground with some firmness; but being unable to resist the bayonet, which was soon brought against them, they, too, were put to flight. The assailants then advanced against the third line; but the regiments, having experienced different degrees of resistance, came on impetuously, in an uneven line and some disorder. Greene then felt sanguine hopes that a steady charge from his chosen troops would turn the fortune of the day. He was dismayed to see the second Maryland regiment give way at once, after which he thought only of retiring; but Colonel Gunby, at the head of the first, gained a decided advantage over the corps under Colonel Stewart, and there followed an obstinate and somewhat desultory contest between the different corps, after which the Americans were compelled to a general retreat. Yet a strong body of riflemen, on the left flank, kept up a galling fire, till Tarleton, with the cavalry, drove them off the field. In this hard fought battle, the Americans own a loss of three hundred and twenty-six killed and wounded. The militia dispersed, after having one hundred, killed and wounded.

The English victory was dearly earned, the killed and wounded amounting to five hundred and thirty-two, including Colonels Stewart and Webster, two of their best officers, and reducing the effective force below fifteen hundred. This small corps, too, was in a very reduced and exhausted state. In short, the English general

formed the resolution to fall back upon Wilmington, near the mouth of Cape Fear River, which had been occupied by Major Craig, where he could recruit his troops and obtain supplies and reinforcements by sea.

Greene retreated about fifteen miles; taking post behind a small stream named Troublesome Creek, where he expected and determined to await an attack; but was soon agreeably surprised by learning that his antagonist was in full retreat, and had even left eighty wounded, recommended to his care. He immediately set out in pursuit, and after overcoming various obstacles, arrived on the 28th of March at Ramsay's Mills, on Deep River, where, having learned the direction which the British were taking, he paused for a few days to recruit, and deliberate on his future plans. At Wilmington, the hostile army would be in communication with the sea, of which they were then masters; so that there no serious impression could be made upon them; and if they received reinforcements, serious danger might be incurred. He formed, therefore, the bold but able resolution of carrying the war into South Carolina, to which he was now nearer than his adversary, and where Lord Rawdon (afterwards Marquis of Hastings) had been left with only the force that appeared necessary to keep down insurrection. Directing his march immediately to this quarter, he had made some progress before the tidings reached Lord Cornwallis, by whom this movement appears to have been quite unexpected. He now, however, considered that it was impossible to reach the American army till the collision had taken place between it and Lord Rawdon; and if the latter should retreat upon Charleston, he himself could reach

the scene of action only by a long and difficult march, crossing several broad rivers, and exposed to attack in disadvantageous positions. He resolved, in preference, to advance in the opposite direction upon Virginia, where, uniting himself to considerable forces already assembled, he might make the cause decidedly preponderant. He hoped thus to recall Greene; or, at all events, by conquering that great and important colony, to secure the ultimate subjugation of the southern states. We must not judge this measure by the event, which we shall see was brought on by complicated and unexpected circumstances; but in the mean time shall follow out the Carolina campaign.

Greene, without regard to the movements of his opponent, pushed on to his destination. The militia having either deserted, or their term of service being expired, his force was reduced to eighteen hundred men; but those, in fact, included all on whom he could ever place much dependence. Approaching Camden, he found it occupied by Rawdon, with about eight hundred men, the other troops being employed upon the defence of detached posts; yet his position was judged so strong as to afford no hope of success in a direct attack. The object aimed at was, by throwing out detachments which might capture the forts, and cut off the supplies in his rear, to compel him gradually to fall back. Lee, for this purpose, was sent with a strong party to co-operate with Marion and Sumpter. The English general, seeing the hostile troops thus reduced to about fifteen hundred, formed the bold resolution of attacking them. Making a large circuit round a swamp, he came upon their left flank quite unexpectedly, while the soldiers

were busied in cooking and washing. This first surprise was never wholly recovered; yet they quickly stood to their arms, and formed in order of battle. They had even gained some advantages, when the 1st Maryland regiment, considered the flower of the army, and which had highly distinguished itself both at Cowpens and Guildford, fell into confusion; and when ordered to make a retrograde movement, converted it into a complete retreat. The other corps, also, beginning to give ground, Greene thought it expedient to cause the whole to retire. The loss on each side was about two hundred and sixty killed and wounded; and the Americans carried off fifty prisoners.

This battle reflected much honour on Lord Rawdon, considering the disproportion of force, which was, in fact, greater than at Guildford; yet it did not change materially the relative situation of the armies. Greene could still maintain his position, and support the detachments operating in the rear of his adversary. Lee and Marion proceeded first against Fort Watson on the Santee, which commanded in a great measure the communication with Charleston. Having neither artillery nor besieging tools, they reared a tower above the level of the rampart, whence their rifle fire drove the defenders, and themselves then mounted and compelled the garrison to surrender. They could not, however, prevent Colonel Watson from leading five hundred men to reinforce Lord Rawdon, who then advanced with the intention of bringing Greene again to action, but found him fallen back upon so strong a position, as to afford no reasonable hope of success. His lordship finding his convoys intercepted, and viewing the generally insecure

state of his posts in the lower country, considered himself under at least the temporary necessity of retreating thither. He had first in view the relief of Motte's House on the Congaree; but before reaching it, had the mortification to find that, with the garrison of one hundred and sixty-five, it had fallen into the hands of Marion and Lee. He continued his march to Monk's Corner, where he covered Charleston and the surrounding country. The partisan chiefs rapidly seized this opportunity of attacking the interior posts, and reduced successively Orangeburg, Granby on the Congaree, and Augusta, the key of Upper Georgia. In these five forts they made eleven hundred prisoners. The most important one, however, was that named Ninety-six, on the Saluda, defended by a garrison of five hundred men. Orders had been sent to them to quit and retire downwards; but the messenger was intercepted; and Colonel Cruger, the commander, made the most active preparations for its defence. Greene considered the place of such importance, that he undertook the siege in person, with a thousand regulars. He broke ground before it on the night of the 23d of May, and though much impeded by a successful sally on the following day, proceeded with such energy, that by the 3d of June, the second parallel was completed, and the garrison summoned, but in vain, to surrender. On the 8th, he was reinforced by Lee, from the capture of Augusta; and though he encountered a most gallant and effective resistance, trusted that the place must in due time fall. Three days after, however, he learned that Rawdon, having received a reinforcement from Ireland, was in full march to relieve it, and had baffled the attempts of Sumpter to impede his progress.

The American leader, therefore, feeling himself unable to give battle, saw no prospect of carrying the fortress unless by storm. On the 18th, an attack against the two most commanding outworks was led by Lee and Campbell, the former of whom carried his point; but the latter, though he penetrated into the ditch, and maintained his party there for three quarters of an hour, found them exposed to so destructive a fire as compelled a general retreat. The siege was immediately raised, and Lord Rawdon, on the 21st, entered the place in triumph. Being again master of the field, he pressed forward in the hope of bringing his antagonist to battle; but the latter rather chose to fall back towards the distant point of Charlotte in Virginia, while Rawdon did not attempt to pursue him beyond the Ennoree.

Notwithstanding this present superiority, his lordship, having failed in his hopes of a decisive victory, and viewing the general aspect of the country, considered it no longer possible to attempt more than covering the lower districts of South Carolina. He therefore fell back to Orangeburgh on the Edisto; and though he attempted at first to maintain Cruger with a strong body at Ninety-six, was soon induced to recall him. Greene, being reinforced by one thousand men under Marion and Sumpter, reconnoitred his position, but judged it imprudent to attack; and both armies, exhausted by such a series of active movements, took an interval of repose during the heat of the season.

Lord Rawdon, being at this time obliged by ill health to return home, left the army under Colonel Stuart, who, to cover the lower country, occupied a position at the point where the Congaree and Wateree unite in forming

the Santee. Greene, having received reinforcements from the north, and collected all his partisan detachments, found himself strong enough to try the chance of battle. His approach with this evident view induced the other party to retire forty miles down the river, to the strong post of Eutaw, whither the American immediately followed by slow and easy marches. On the 8th of September, the latter determined to attack the British camp, placing as usual his militia in front, hoping that the English, in beating and pursuing them, would at least get into confusion; but from this very dread, the latter had been warned to keep their posts till ordered to move. The American front, however, maintained their ground better than usual, and the British, before beating them, became heated, and, forgetful of the warnings given, pushed forward irregularly. They were then charged by the veterans in the second line, and after a very desperate struggle, driven off the field. There lay in their way, however, a large brick building and adjacent garden, where Stuart placed a strong corps, who could not be dislodged, and kept up a deadly fire, which checked the victors, enabling the retreating troops to be formed anew. At the same time, Colonel Washington attacked the British flank; but finding it strongly posted among woods, he was repulsed with great loss, and himself taken prisoner. The American general, seeing no hope of making any further impression, retreated to his previous position. In this bloody and doubtful battle, both parties claim the victory, though the Americans with most reason, as the general result was greatly to their advantage. It was certainly far from decisive; and the British loss of eighty-five killed and six hundred and

eight wounded, was much greater than that of the Americans, who carried off also above two hundred prisoners. The British commander then formed a resolution, prompted less probably by the result of the day, than by the general state of the upper country, and the numbers and activity of the American light troop. Conceiving himself unable to maintain so advanced a position, he began to move on the evening of the 9th, and proceeded down to Monk's Corner, where he merely covered Charleston and its vicinity. To this and to Savannah were now limited British authority, which had lately extended so widely over the southern states.

In contemplating this great reverse, it is impossible not to be struck by the circumstance, that it was mainly caused by a hostile spirit kindled in the country, which Lord Rawdon describes as wholly in arms against him. Contrasting this with the period following the capture of Charleston, when it was universally loyal and submissive, and considering that the operations were conducted by officers of high honour and humanity, curiosity is excited whence so great a change had arisen. We may remark that, though a free constitution was promised, the people were meantime subjected to martial law,—an authority novel and particularly distasteful to them. Cornwallis is found adopting measures against plunder; yet these indicate its existence, and could have been enforced with great difficulty among the numerous detachments, partly of irregulars, who were spread over the country. Ramsay asserts, that many assumed the character of loyal militia with a mere view to the opportunities of booty. We find Prevost admitting, that many outrages were committed by his irregulars, which he

heartily abhorred, but could not prevent; only alleging that they were exceeded by those on the opposite side. The conduct of the militia who deserted was doubtless criminal; yet public opinion found an excuse in the reigning political excitement, and scarcely accorded with the extreme penalty inflicted on them. The forfeiture of the property of those who left the country was after an example set by the Americans; yet rigour in enforcing this and other measures was probably one cause of the recent disaffection. It was going very far, too, to prohibit all sales unless under British license, to refuse support to the wives of the patriots, and even compel them to depart. The spectacle of women of the first distinction fleeing with their families in a state of total destitution, excited the public sympathy. It was unfortunate for Britain that the fair sex strongly shared these feelings, and many warmly espoused the patriotic cause, glorying even in the title of "rebel ladies." Through these various agencies, the passive friendship with which the British had at first been regarded, was changed into decided hostility. To its influence may be added the great ability of Greene, more matured and steady perhaps than that of his younger opponents. Such seem the chief causes why an expedition, commenced under such triumphant auspices, and supported by so many brilliant achievements, had so abortive an issue.

In the belief that it would be satisfactory to the reader to trace this eventful campaign in the south continuously, rather than in fragments intermingled with other subjects, we have thus been led to anticipate the order of time, and must now go back to trace the course of events in the more central parts of the theatre of war.

When Clinton sailed for the south, Knyphausen was left in command at New York, with instructions, while the main theatre of action continued elsewhere, to maintain a merely defensive position. An opportunity was thus afforded, which Washington eagerly desired to seize, and felt the more tempting, as during the intense cold of the succeeding winter all the waters around New York and its adjacent insular posts were frozen, and thus rendered accessible to a land force. He had the mortification to find that, reduced as the adverse force was, it still outnumbered his own, which was besides so destitute of food and clothing, that it was with difficulty kept together, and quite unfit for any laborious movement. The supplies still depended on the states, which furnished them as scantily and precariously as ever; while a new plan adopted of making the requisitions in goods rather than in money, proved still more cumbrous and inefficient. Changes were made in the commissariat, but injudiciously, and without any good effect. At one time, Washington only preserved his army from starving by a requisition on the people of New Jersey, rendered effective by the intimation that the articles, if not forthcoming, would be taken by force. One attack was made by Lord Stirling against a detached post on Staten Island; but he found it too well guarded.

The army for 1780 was fixed at thirty-five thousand two hundred and eleven men, instead of which the actual force under arms in June, did not exceed five thousand five hundred. Their pay was five months in arrear, and even when received was scarcely of any value, through the depreciation of the currency. A pledge was given that the deficiency from this source should be made good

at the end of the war ; but the troops complained that this availed little when they were at present without the means of subsistence. Two Connecticut regiments paraded under arms, with a resolution either to return home or obtain relief, and were with great difficulty recalled to their duty. Knyphausen was thus encouraged to send a considerable force in this direction ; but they found the army ready to fight, and the militia promptly mustering, so that, the present policy being defensive, they returned. On the 18th of June, Clinton arrived from South Carolina with about four thousand men,—an event which caused the greatest alarm to General Washington ; and, in fact, he made another excursion in this quarter, but from similar motives did not advance farther than Springfield. He did not, indeed, notwithstanding the weakness of the American army, consider himself in a condition for any large offensive operation, stating his whole force at twelve thousand men, of whom nine thousand three hundred were fit for duty ; and after garrisoning the posts in and round New York, there remained scarcely a moveable body of five thousand, wholly insufficient for penetrating to any depth in the interior. He now therefore demanded a reinforcement of ten thousand, before he could hold out any hope of reducing America by force of arms.

An event, moreover, had by this time been announced, which gave a new turn to the current of affairs. The Marquis de Lafayette had embraced, with the utmost ardour, the cause of the Americans, and on a visit to his native country, had urged it so strongly upon his court, as at length to obtain the promise of a strong fleet and army to co-operate with theirs. These tidings, brought

out by himself, were received with the highest exultation by congress, who, in the preceding January, had promised to the French minister to bring forward twenty-five thousand men and abundant supplies, with very little consideration how these were to be provided. They roused themselves indeed somewhat from the torpor into which they had sunk, and made urgent requisitions for the states to make good their quotas, representing the disgrace inevitably incurred if the army should be exhibited to their allies in its present reduced state, totally incapable of any effective co-operation. These remonstrances had an effect too similar to those which had preceded; but some individual spirit was kindled. A bank was formed at Philadelphia, and £315,000 subscribed, solely to supply provisions to the troops; the ladies in that city and elsewhere made liberal contributions; but these means did not go far in relieving the immense wants under which the army laboured.

On the 13th of July, intelligence was received that the French fleet had been seen off the capes of Virginia, and next day that, according to previous arrangements, they were standing into the harbour of Newport, on Rhode Island. About six thousand men, under the Count de Rochambeau, were escorted by a squadron under the Chevalier Ternay. A second division was at Brest, waiting for transports; but it was afterwards blockaded by an English fleet, and never reached America. This arrival, while it gratified, not a little embarrassed Washington. All the recent efforts had brought only a thousand recruits, and he laboured under extreme uncertainty as to when he might expect more. The whole combined force would not exceed that now strongly for-

tified in New York; yet he determined to propose a joint attack by sea and land. This arrangement, however, rested upon the naval superiority which Ternay at first possessed; but it was transferred to the other side by the arrival of six sail under Graves. Clinton was even encouraged to make an attempt upon the ships and troops at Newport; but delays in equipping his own vessels retarded the movement till the place was found too strongly secured. Hopes were meantime entertained that Admiral de Guichen, from the West Indies, would re-establish the French superiority; but instead of him, Rodney arrived with a squadron, which made the English complete masters in these seas. Rhode Island, during the rest of the season, was kept closely blockaded. The consequent inaction greatly chagrined Washington, though seemingly he might have been rather pleased that his own extreme weakness should not be manifested.

An occurrence now happened which excited an intense interest throughout the union. General Arnold, next to Washington, had been the most conspicuous military character of the Revolution. His campaign in Canada, notwithstanding its misfortunes, had elevated him to the highest reputation. Unluckily, his temper and manners, proud and overbearing, raised up numerous enemies, who became even a majority in congress. Hence, when an extensive promotion was made, he was passed over, and five officers, junior in the service, and much inferior in reputation, were placed over his head. Washington deeply deplored this injustice, and remonstrated, though vainly against it. He did every thing possible to soothe the wounded pride of his friend, whose

exploits as a volunteer, during several attacks on the coast of New England, were so very splendid, that congress could no longer avoid granting the promotion, though tardily and ungraciously. The commander-in-chief then procured for him an appointment in the army sent against Burgoyne, where he greatly augmented his reputation, and being disabled by severe wounds for field service, obtained from the same authority the honourable station of commandant in Philadelphia. Here, however, his lofty bearing brought him into collision with the members of congress and the provincial council of that city. He made a claim for reimbursement of advances during the Canadian campaign, which was alleged by his enemies to be exorbitant, and even fraudulent. Its amount or nature being no where stated, it is difficult to judge; but there could be nothing very gross, since the hostile party never founded upon it any charge, nor was the demand ever withdrawn by himself. Congress, only alleging the intricacy of the account, delayed the settlement from time to time, and no part was ever actually paid. This was the more harassing, as an extravagant mode of living had involved him in embarrassments, which he sought to relieve by privateering and commercial speculation, not certainly dishonest, yet considered unsuitable to his rank and situation; and being unfortunate, they aggravated his distress. From the observation of these circumstances, his enemies inferred the likelihood of his abusing, for corrupt purposes, the powers attached to his command. Eagerly scanning with this view every particular, the city council presented a series of charges to congress; but a committee of that body reported that nothing criminal had

been proved. Among its members, however, then violently rent by faction, the party hostile to him preponderated. The report of their own committee was rejected, and a new one named, composed partly of the accusing council; yet, as even this was not found to work well, the affair was finally referred to a court-martial. The great difficulty found in making up a plausible accusation, with some military operations, caused a cruel delay of more than a year. At length, on the 26th of January, 1780, the court pronounced its sentence, finding him guilty only of two charges,—that, when at Valley Forge he had granted protection to a vessel sailing from Philadelphia, when it was somewhat irregular to do so; and that he had once employed public wagons in the conveyance of private property, though paying all the expenses. Neither act, in the opinion of the court, implied any criminal intention; yet, upon these nugatory grounds, he was sentenced to be publicly reprimanded by the commander-in-chief. That great man could not escape the unwelcome task, but executed it in the most delicate possible manner, rendering it, indeed, rather a panegyric than a censure. He recalled his great actions, and promised fresh opportunities for distinction; but nothing probably could soothe his wounded feelings at not obtaining that full acquittal to which he felt himself entitled.*

* This account of Arnold's conduct, which differs materially from that found in the common histories, is drawn from his life by Mr. Sparks (*Library of American Biography*, vol. iii. Boston, 1835.) The narrative is written on full and good information, and with candour, amid an almost avowed bias against the subject of it. See particularly pp. 130 138, 141-145. We are sorry to observe, such is the

Arnold now finally determined to go over to the British cause. The grounds assigned by him were, that America had gained all her demands, and there remained no longer any motive for separation, war, and the odious alliance with France. These were motives which might have fairly swayed his mind, had they been openly and honourably acted upon ; and even some bias from accumulated wrongs might have been excused by human infirmity. But the purpose was carried out in a manner which fully justifies the Americans in branding him with the name of traitor, though not for the extreme rancour with which they have followed his memory. He made, perhaps, too large personal stipulations for himself, especially if they included a sum of money ; which, however, seems not to have been ascertained. He carried on a long correspondence, and gave information to the British, while he held office, and professed zeal in the American interest ; lastly, he took steps now to be narrated, by which no man of honour would seek to support even the best of causes.

His object was to obtain possession of some important post, by delivering over which he might gain high credit with his new employers ; and this design was facilitated by the great value set on his talents by the commander-in-chief. He accordingly solicited the command at West Point, the key of all the positions on the Hudson, and

rancour in America against Arnold, that the most candid historians, without absolutely asserting that he was found guilty of the charges, have used expressions which are susceptible of, and tend to convey that meaning. See Marshall, vol. iv. pp. 328, 329. Nay, Mr. Sparks himself, in his *Life of Washington*, has done the very same, vol. i. p. 339.

by which the two wings of the army mainly communicated. This choice surprised Washington, who had destined him for leader of one of the wings of the army, as likely to be both the most useful and most agreeable to his ardent temper; however, he consented. Arnold could then arrange that, while the place appeared perfectly secure, there might be left an unguarded point by which an enemy could enter. Of this he apprised Major Andre, with whom he had all along corresponded, at the same time soliciting and pointing out means for a meeting within the American lines. This was effected after some difficulty, and all the necessary arrangements were then made. Circumstances obliged the English officer to return by a circuitous route; but, with an escort and Arnold's passport, he succeeded in passing safely all the hostile guards, and had reached a sort of neutral ground, where he appeared quite safe. Suddenly three men rushed out from a wood, stopped his horse, and one presented a pistol to his breast; when, erroneously supposing them to be British, he rashly betrayed his own character. They then searched his person, and found papers containing all the particulars of the plot, which, along with the prisoner, were carried to Colonel Jameson, the nearest commandant, who, bewildered and unable to see the bearings of the affair, sent expresses at once to Washington and to Arnold himself. The latter received his while at breakfast, and waiting a visit of inspection from the commander. He suppressed his emotions, and having taken a hurried and agonizing leave of his wife, ran down to the river, threw himself into a boat, and by urgency and promises, induced the men to row him down with the utmost rapidity till he got on board

a British vessel. Washington was not a little surprised on arriving not to find Arnold, of whom nothing could be learned during the whole forenoon. At four he received Jameson's despatch, when he is said to have displayed the utmost self-possession, only saying to Lafayette, "Whom can we trust now?"

Andre, thus placed in the power of his enemies, was considered the most rising young officer in the British army. After a few years' service, Clinton had appointed him adjutant-general, and he had every prospect of rising to the highest commands. His brilliant accomplishments, amiable temper, and engaging manners, rendered him the idol of his brother officers. With a noble, though imprudent frankness, he wrote to Washington a statement of all the circumstances, not seemingly dreading that he would be treated otherwise than as a prisoner of war. That commander, however, submitted the case to a council of fourteen general officers, who decided that he ought to be considered as a spy, and as such to suffer death. The legality of the sentence seems indubitable, since the only plea offered, that he came at the desire and under the flag of an American general, appears futile when the well known purpose is considered. Still the question was, whether, when there was no breach either of honour or morality, a magnanimous clemency might not have been laudably exercised. This is stated to have been Rochambeau's opinion; but Washington, with regret it is said, decided otherwise. Clinton lavished offers of exchange, and Arnold wrote a violent letter, threatening bloody reprisals; but this rather injured the cause. The only overture made was to take the latter himself in exchange, to which, of course, Clinton could never

CAPTURE OF MAJOR ANDRE.



listen. The captive met his doom with a gentle and heroic fortitude, admired even by those who condemned him. It must be added, that the American writers, while they defend the measure, express deep sympathy in his fate, and have almost, indeed, canonized his memory.

During the winter, Washington was indefatigable in urging congress and the states to take measures for rendering the army somewhat efficient. His remonstrances, with the shame of a palpable failure before their great ally, roused them to a certain degree of activity. But their finances were in a more desperate state than ever. Their paper had ceased to bear any value; their credit was entirely exhausted; the taxes which could be levied on the people were of small amount, slow and uncertain in collection. There remained no possible resource unless from foreign courts, whom they had already wearied out by repeated applications. Mr. Jay, nevertheless, was sent to Spain, which, having recently joined the confederacy, and professed great friendship for the new republic, was expected to grant some assistance. That gentleman, however, soon warned his employers that the favour of this, as of other courts, rested solely upon interest, or even the whim or caprice of statesmen. The Count de Florida Blanca subjected him to a most rigid interrogatory as to the resources and prospects of the Union; and it transpired that the cabinet was very apprehensive of having embarked in a contest in which it would not be duly supported. In this view, the deep financial distress which the solicitation exhibited was very unfavourable. Spain, moreover, earnestly insisted on having ceded to her the course of the Mississippi, and

even all the country west of the Alleghany; a vast prospective object, which Jay could not yield. Congress had sent over bills for £100,000; but after the acceptance of an amount of fourteen thousand dollars, the Spanish purse was closed, and it was necessary to send the rest to Paris in search of better fortune. There, however, Franklin had complained how distressing he found it to be, as he terms it, "continually worrying the court for money;" and, having sent out, at great expense, a fleet and an army, it might reasonably claim exemption from further demands. Congress, in this extremity, sent over on a special mission Colonel Laurens, who, by presenting, contrary to etiquette, a memorial in person to the king, and even hinting to the minister that America might otherwise be obliged to join Britain, extorted a subsidy of six million livres (£240,000,) with a further sum by way of loan, and guarantee for a Dutch loan of five million guilders (£414,000.) This was intimated to be the very last pecuniary aid that could be granted; but it relieved the present urgency.

Washington had also the satisfaction of prevailing upon congress to promise half-pay to the officers at the end of the war, and to enlist troops only for its whole duration. The states were also urged to make up the army to the number of thirty-seven thousand by the 1st of January, 1781, and the commander hoped that something approaching to the half of that number might have been assembled. By the 1st of June, however, the whole fell short of eight thousand; yet he determined, with the aid of the French, to press forward offensive operations, considering it, in the present state of the Union, of the very last importance that the contest should be brought to a

speedy period. Having, in the beginning of July, been joined by the French army under Rochambeau, he projected an attempt to surprise the posts defending the northern part of New York Island. The approach was made on two different points; but want of concert, and the prepared state of the British, rendered the attempt abortive. The American commander, then, learning that a reinforcement of three thousand Hessians had arrived in New York, gave up all hopes of carrying that capital, and turned his views in another direction.

Virginia had insensibly, as it were, become a principal theatre of war. Leslie, as already observed, had been sent thither to reinforce Cornwallis, who, it was hoped, might penetrate through the Carolinas; but after Ferguson's disaster, he was ordered to go round by Charleston. With the view, however, of creating a diversion in favour of the southern army, Clinton, in December, 1780, sent Arnold with sixteen hundred men to the Chesapeake. That officer, displaying all his wonted activity, overran a great extent of country, and captured Richmond, the capital, destroying great quantities of stores. Washington, most anxious to strike a blow against him, prevailed upon Destouches, the French admiral, to proceed thither with a land-force; but the latter was overtaken by Arbuthnot, and endured a hard battle, which, though not admitted to be a defeat, obliged him to return. Clinton, still with the same view, sent another force of two thousand men, under General Phillips, which arrived in the Chesapeake on the 26th of March. This officer, being complete master of the field, overran the country between the James and York rivers, seized the large town of Petersburg, as also Chesterfield

courthouse, the militia rendezvous, and other stations, destroying great quantities of shipping and stores, with all the wharehoused tobacco. Lafayette being sent against him, added to his force about two thousand militia, and succeeded by good dispositions in securing Richmond. Operations seemed at a stand, when intelligence was received of Cornwallis' march into this territory; and, in spite of every effort of the French general, he, in the end of May, joined Phillips at Petersburg, taking the command of the whole army. Being then decidedly superior, he took possession of Richmond, and began a hot pursuit of Lafayette, who retreated into the upper country so rapidly and so skilfully, that he could not be overtaken. The English general then turned back, and sent a detachment under Colonel Simcoe, who destroyed the chief magazine at the junction of the two branches of James River. Tarleton pushed his cavalry so swiftly upon Charlotteville, where the state assembly was met, that seven members were taken, and the rest very narrowly escaped. Lafayette, however, now returned with a considerable force, and, by his manœuvres, induced the British commander to retire to Williamsburg. He afterwards continued his retreat to Portsmouth, in the course of which the former made an attack, but was repulsed, and would have been totally routed, had not his strength been estimated above its real amount.

The movement of Cornwallis into Virginia had been wholly disapproved by Clinton, who complained that, contrary to all his views and intentions, the main theatre of war had been transferred to a territory into which he never proposed more than partial inroads, considering

it very difficult to subdue and maintain. His grand object had always been, first to secure New York, and if sufficient strength was afforded, to push offensive operations thence into the interior. Hoping, therefore, that the Carolinas, once subdued, might be retained by a small force, he had repeatedly solicited the partial return of the troops. Cornwallis defended the movement by observing, that his situation at Wilmington, allowing no time to send for instructions, obliged him to act on his own responsibility. Communicating also with the government at home, he urged that the Carolinas could not be securely held without the possession also of Virginia; that this might be attained by a vigorous effort, and would make Britain mistress of all the fine southern colonies, whose resources could be then employed in conquering the more stubborn regions of the north. These arguments, recommended by his lordship's brilliant achievements at Camden and elsewhere, convinced the ministry; and Lord Germaine wrote to the commander-in-chief to direct his principal attention to the war in Virginia, and to the plan of conquest from south to north. The latter, considering himself thus slighted, solicited permission to resign, and leave the command to an officer who enjoyed greater confidence; but his merits being highly estimated, this tender was not accepted.

Under the apprehension inspired by the threatening movements of Washington and the French army against New York, he had ordered a considerable reinforcement from Virginia, but countermanded it on receiving the above instructions, along with an additional body of troops. He had formed apparently a favourite plan

somewhat of a compromise between the two. It is nowhere distinctly developed in his letters; but by a passage in one, very active operations were proposed at the head of the Chesapeake, to be combined probably with a movement from New York, and comprehending Philadelphia and Baltimore. Aware that this plan required the maritime command of that great inlet, he inquired if ministers would insure its maintenance; and they made this engagement without duly considering its difficulties. Under these views, he directed Cornwallis to occupy and fortify a naval position at the entrance of the bay, specially recommending Old Point Comfort, at the mouth of James River. This measure did not harmonize with Cornwallis' views: however he obeyed; but the above position being declared by the engineers indefensible, he recommended, in preference, York, on the river of that name; which was agreed to, and operations actively commenced.

Washington, meantime, had been meditating movements in Virginia, and had solicited De Grasse, then in the West Indies, to secure for him at least a temporary command of the Chesapeake. After the failure of his efforts and hopes in regard to New York, this became his main object. With the highest satisfaction he received the intimation, that, on the 3d of August, the French admiral, with above twenty-five ships of the line and three thousand two hundred troops, would sail for the Chesapeake, and remain there till the middle of October. No hesitation was then made in commencing a movement upon Virginia with the whole French army and a strong detachment of the American. It was impossible that so great a movement could be concealed;

but the utmost pains were taken to lead Clinton into the belief that its object was New York. This was the less difficult, as the American commander's aims and efforts had long been really turned in that direction; and his opponent had felt extremely sensitive on that subject. The crossing of the Hudson, and the march down its right bank, might have been undertaken with either design. Letters were written, and contrived to be intercepted, tending to confirm the deception. It was not till the 31st of August, that the allied force took their direct route to the Chesapeake: they had then an easy march to the head of that estuary, down which they would be conveyed in transports to Lord Cornwallis' position, which could be reached from New York only amid the uncertainties of a maritime voyage, and the access, it was hoped, blocked up by a superior fleet. In fact, De Grasse, with twenty-eight sail of the line, had entered it in the end of August. Rodney had been opposed to him in the West Indies; but imagining that a great part of the French fleet must have been sent to protect a convoy going to Europe, he himself took that direction, and sent only fourteen sail, under Admiral Hood, to New York. That officer there came under the command of his senior, Admiral Graves, who, having nineteen vessels, hesitated not to sail for the Chesapeake, to attack the superior force of De Grasse. He found it ranged across the entrance, and an obstinate contest ensued, with various and on the whole indecisive results. Then, however, Barras from Newport brought a reinforcement, which rendered the French force so decidedly superior, that Graves was obliged to return.

Amid all these movements, it was not till the 6th of

September that Clinton became fully aware of Washington's destination, and of the extreme danger to which Cornwallis would thus be exposed. He then wrote to that nobleman, pointing out the circumstances, and proposing, as the only mode of relieving him, that he himself should sail from New York, and join him with a reinforcement of four thousand troops. This course implied that the Virginia army should meantime remain on the defensive in its present position. It appears to us manifest that the plan involved a capital error; and that the only assured safety for that army was to have instantly commenced a rapid retreat upon Charleston. It would then have been in a much stronger position, and could either have retired or been reinforced by sea. That this course would be taken was the main dread of Washington, who intended, indeed, to have followed; but he could not have left the north wholly defenceless. Clinton's plan depended on the uncertain operations of a fleet, which had, moreover, to defeat or elude a superior one; while the army, when landed, would have had to cut its way through another three times more numerous. Afterwards, when it became evident that the march southwards would have been the eligible course, he insisted that there was nothing to preclude its having been followed by Cornwallis, who, in his separate command, had been allowed, and had most liberally exercised, a discretionary power. His lordship, however, seems reasonably to urge, that the case was very different when he had a letter from his commander-in-chief, written in full knowledge of all the circumstances, and pointing out as the only eligible course one in which he himself was preparing to act a part. Not to have co-operated with



LAFAYETTE TAKING A REDOUBT AT YORKTOWN.

him, but to have followed a plan directly opposite, would have been completely to disregard his authority; while an awful responsibility would have been incurred in the abandonment of his posts, stores, and hospitals, in a rapid retreat before a superior enemy.

He continued, therefore, in his position at York, while perils thickened around him. Washington, dreading chiefly the march southward, directed Lafayette to take post at Williamsburg, where he himself arrived on the 14th of September. Tarleton, ever enterprising, urged an attack upon this force while still inferior to the British; but this was declined; and indeed it should seem that such able commanders would easily have avoided fighting in a disadvantageous position by retreating behind the broad estuary of James River. The successive divisions, descending the Chesapeake, continued to arrive at Williamsburg, where, on the 25th of September, the last of them landed, raising the army to seven thousand French, five thousand five hundred American regulars, and three thousand five hundred militia. On the 28th, this force broke up and moved towards York, which the British commander had been diligently fortifying, while a smaller post was maintained at Gloucester, on the opposite side of the river. He had formed an outer circuit of intrenched lines; but these, during the evening of the 29th, he abandoned, retiring within the body of the fort. This movement surprised Washington, and is also disapproved by Tarleton, who thinks he might have gained time by maintaining this exterior position. He had just, however, received a letter from Clinton, intimating a full expectation of sailing on the 5th of October, or at most, two or three days later; and judging

the works fully sufficient to hold out till his arrival, dreaded loss and peril from encountering, even within lines, so superior an enemy.

The operations of the besieging army were confined to a strict blockade till the 6th of October, when the artillery and military stores arrived in the camp. On the evening of that day the first parallel was begun in silence and caution, and before morning was so far advanced as in a great measure to cover the troops. All being felt to depend upon rapidity, operations were pushed with the utmost ardour, and the two nations were incited to deeds of valour. By the 10th, the fire had become most formidable; a number of the batteries were silenced, and a frigate and three transports in the harbour set on fire and consumed. On the night of the 11th, the second parallel was commenced, and had the same success as the first, of being undiscovered till morning. Three days were devoted to its completion; but the British, having with great labour opened several new batteries, then poured in a most destructive fire. That in particular from two redoubts was so terrible, that without carrying them, the siege could not be prosecuted. This grand operation was fixed for the night of the 14th, when one fort was undertaken by the French, under the Baron de Viomenil, the other by the Americans under Lafayette, aided by Colonels Hamilton and Laurens. The latter rushed on with such impetuosity, that, without firing a gun, they soon carried the post, making twenty prisoners, though losing forty killed and wounded. The French encountered a stronger resistance, and suffered the loss of about a hundred, but finally carried their redoubt also.

Cornwallis now perceived that a fatal crisis was rapidly approaching. He endeavoured to retard it by a sally, on the morning of the 16th, of three hundred and fifty men under Colonel Abercrombie, who carried the two most advanced batteries, but could not retain them for a sufficient time to complete their destruction. On the following night, it was determined to cross to the northern bank, and endeavour to force a way by land to New York. The boats were collected with the greatest secrecy, the embarkation completed, and even the landing commenced, when a violent tempest of wind and rain interrupted the movement, and obliged the troops to employ all their efforts in regaining the fortress. On the following day, all the batteries of the second parallel were finished, and began to play with such tremendous effect, that, in the opinion of the officers and engineers, the place was no longer tenable. Cornwallis therefore opened a negotiation for surrender, on the basis of the garrison being sent to Europe and remaining on parole until released or exchanged; but Washington would admit only of unconditional surrender. It was agreed, however, that the officers should be allowed the honours of war, with their arms and baggage; and that the Bonetta sloop of war should be permitted to go unsearched, with the understood view of placing in security those civil officers who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the United States government. On these conditions, the capitulation was signed on the morning of the 19th. The prisoners surrendered were seven thousand and seventy-three, of whom, however, only four thousand and seventeen were fit for duty.

Clinton, meantime, had not been forgetful of his

promises; but the fleet had been so much shattered in the late engagement, that some preparation was necessary to fit it for sailing. It was, however, resolved, at a general meeting both of the military and naval commanders, that the 5th of October should be fixed as the period for this movement; and he had therefore a reasonable expectation of fulfilling his promise. On the 28th of September, he addressed a letter to Admiral Graves on this important point, who replied that the fleet could not sail till the 8th; terms which did not indeed imply a positive pledge for that day, yet gave reason to hope that it would not be much exceeded. It did not, however, depart till the 19th, the very day on which the capitulation was signed. There seems thus to have been a wide miscalculation on the part of the naval commander, to which the catastrophe may be in a great measure ascribed. Clinton had committed the original error of trusting to this precarious means of relief; but he seems responsible neither for the false hopes which he inspired nor for their non-fulfilment. He complains, on the other hand, that Cornwallis gave room to expect that he would hold out till the end of October. We certainly find his lordship, on the 16th of September, writing that he had provisions for six weeks; and on the 29th, that if relieved "in any reasonable time," he had no apprehensions. Yet all this is somewhat vague, though it appears certain that he had no expectation of that extraordinary activity of the allies which hurried on the issue with such disastrous rapidity. An embittered controversy took place between these two eminent commanders, in which each seems to have succeeded in acquitting himself, rather than in inculpating his opponent

This catastrophe, like that of Burgoyne, was felt less from the actual amount of loss sustained, than from the impression which it made upon the public mind of Europe. In Britain, the popular feeling had been raised above former disasters by indignation against the league of the continental powers, and by the brilliant promises which the successes in the southern colonies seemed to afford. During the session of 1780-1781, indeed, Mr. Fox, who now figured as leader of opposition, predicted that these would be very ephemeral, and repelled any expectation of finally recovering the lost colonies. Ministers, however, were still confident, and generally supported by the nation. In the course of the year 1781, however, the horizon of Europe assumed a different aspect. A commercial treaty and other connexions formed by Holland with the colonies led to a declaration of war against her, involving a consequent collision with almost the whole naval power of the continent. The Empress of Russia, taking advantage of the state of affairs, placed herself at the head of what was termed the armed neutrality, having in view to limit the right of search hitherto exercised by Great Britain; and though this did not lead to any actual hostility, it rendered the situation of the country still more critical.

When, to the severe pressure thus caused, was added the disastrous intelligence from the new continent, there arose in the nation a cry for peace and for the recognition of American independence, as vehement as formerly for war and supremacy. This was a result, however, for which the cabinet was by no means prepared. On the assembling of parliament, 27th of November, 1781, the king's speech still expressed a determination to perse-

vere, and the hope of a finally auspicious issue. Lord North indeed admitted that it was no longer expedient to carry on the war as formerly by marching armies into the interior; his plan was to maintain the present posts, to support the loyalists, and be ready to take advantage of circumstances. Under this view, the estimates were formed on a reduced scale; and an understanding was intimated, that no large reinforcements would be sent out to replace the losses sustained. The opposition members, however, while they traced the disasters to the misconduct of the ministry, urged the folly of Britain continuing to waste her strength in such a hopeless contest. Both the address and estimates, however, were carried by majorities of about two to one, and the recess suspended further discussion.

When the houses reassembled on the 20th of January, the unpopularity of government had been aggravated by the capture of Minorca, and of St. Christopher, with several smaller islands in the West Indies. The opposition, led by a phalanx of statesman of the first rank—Fox, Pitt, Burke, Rockingham, Shelburne—determined to push matters to extremity. They were greatly encouraged by the result of a motion by Mr. Fox concerning the conduct of the naval war, which was negatived by only two hundred and five to one hundred and eighty-three. It became then evident that the country gentlemen were going over, and that persevering efforts would soon effect the grand object of ejecting the present ministry. A similar motion, on the 19th of February, was defeated by only nineteen; and on the 22d, General Conway moved an address, deprecating the continuance of the war in America, and offering aid

in a plan of reconciliation. After an animated debate, it was negatived by a majority of only one; when the final issue could not be doubtful. On the 27th he renewed his motion in another shape; and the minister, though only attempting to parry it by an adjournment, was left in a minority of nineteen. The general then moved, that the house would consider as enemies to their king and country all who should advise or attempt the further prosecution of the war. This was not resisted. Lord North, indeed, while lamenting his lot in holding office under such distressful circumstances, clung to it with extraordinary pertinacity. It was even intimated, that ministers were ready to become instruments in carrying out the measures thus dictated to them by parliament. Lord Germaine, more consistent, had resigned as soon as he saw the cabinet coming round to this conclusion. Nothing could less accord with the views of the opposition than such an arrangement, which was indeed liable to obvious objections; and seeing that their adversaries would yield only to direct attack, they did not hesitate to employ that course. On the 8th of March, 1782, Lord John Cavendish moved a series of resolutions, arraigning the misconduct of ministers, as having caused all the recent disasters. In this extremity, however, some of the country gentlemen rallied round the premier, who urged not without reason that every measure now denounced had been sanctioned by large and constant majorities. He obtained in consequence the small one of ten, which however was regarded as an earnest of final triumph to the opposing party. On the 15th a resolution of no-confidence was moved by Sir John Rous. Lord North made a sort of overture to assist in the for

mation of a coalition cabinet, which was indignantly rejected. His majority was reduced to nine; and to follow up the blow, Mr. Fox announced a similar motion for the 19th; but on that day, Lord Surrey, the intended mover, was anticipated by a declaration that "ministers were no more." The premier made a concluding speech, explaining and defending the policy pursued during his long administration. In a few days, a new cabinet was arranged, having at its head the Marquis of Rockingham, supported by Fox, Burke, and others, all advocates of peace, and pledged to obtain it, even by sacrificing dominion over the revolted colonies.

Lord North had already been privately feeling his way towards this object. Even early in 1781, the Empress of Russia had offered her mediation, which Britain had accepted; and at her request, the Emperor of Germany agreed to become a party. France, however, declined acceding, till she could treat along with her transatlantic ally, whom she invited to send plenipotentiaries for that purpose. Congress sent Jay, Laurens, and Jefferson to act in concert with Adams, then ambassador at Paris; and they requested Dr. Franklin, though intending to return, that he would remain till this weighty affair was concluded. The powers were almost unlimited, except that they were to agree to nothing short of entire independence, and to make no arrangement without the knowledge and concurrence of the French ministers, by whose advice and opinion they were ultimately to govern themselves. It was agreed that the congress should be held at Vienna; but difficulties soon arose as to the footing on which it should be conducted. Mr. Adams protested against himself or

his associates appearing in any other character than as representatives of an independent state ; while the cabinet of London declared that peace could only be made when the league between France and the revolted colonies should be dissolved. This view was even supported by the allied courts, who proposed, indeed, that the two negotiations should be carried on and concluded together, but still as distinct transactions. As the two parties would not recede from these opposite views, the whole mediatory scheme was broken up.

The new ministry, however, made no delay in opening negotiations on a lower basis, and with a thorough desire of bringing them to a favourable conclusion. The agreement was formed, after, it is supposed, considerable objection on the part of the king, and also of Lord Shelburne, to concede to the states their claim of entire independence. Mr. Oswald was sent over to Paris in a private character, to sound both parties. The Count de Vergennes expressed his readiness to enter into negotiation in concert with the American plenipotentiaries, wishing that Paris might be made the theatre. Both these requests were conceded ; and on the 7th of May, Mr. Grenville went over with full powers. In his first interview, he intimated the expectation, that on the acknowledgment of American independence, the object for which France had entered into the war, she would restore the conquests made during its progress ; but Vergennes decidedly refused to admit such a stipulation.

Serious obstacles thus opposed the progress of the treaty ; and these were much increased by the death, on the 1st of July, of the Marquis of Rockingham, a minister highly esteemed. The place of premier then devolved

on Lord Shelburne, who had on former occasions expressed himself very strongly against the grant of independence; and a difference, understood to exist on that subject, induced Fox and Burke to withdraw from the administration. Encouragement to take higher ground might be derived from the state of helplessness and exhaustion into which the United States government had fallen, as it was found impossible to draw from its separate members funds at all adequate to the maintenance of the army, which was thus incapable of undertaking any important enterprise. It is even asserted that Clinton undertook, if supplied with a reinforcement of ten thousand men, to reconquer all the colonies. He had, however, been recalled by the new ministry, and his place supplied by Sir Guy Carleton.

These surmises proved to rest on a very slender foundation. According to Mr. Fox's own explanation, the only difference of opinion was, whether the independence should be at once recognized, or should be reserved as an article of the treaty of peace. The negotiation proceeded as before, except that Mr. Fitzherbert, who enjoyed the confidence of the new ministry, took the place of Mr. Grenville; but Mr. Oswald still continued to conduct the American treaty. It appears, indeed, that Mr. Jones, afterwards celebrated as Sir William Jones, went to Paris, and submitted to Dr. Franklin an imaginary fragment of Polybius, respecting the dissensions between Athens and her colonies. Its tenor was to sound him respecting a continued union, on a completely equal footing, between Britain and the American states; but it does not appear that any direct notice was taken of this kind of overture. Congress, in October, 1782, pub-

lished a resolution not to accept of any thing short of entire independence, nor to separate from France. The negotiation went on smoothly. Mr. Oswald's commission had been to treat with the *colonies* or *plantations* in America, terms to which Mr. Jay strongly objected; and though both Vergennes and Franklin were satisfied, yet on a representation being made, a new one was sent over on the 21st of September, altering the expression to United States of America. Oswald appears to have been a good, easy man, earnestly desirous of bringing the negotiation to a favourable conclusion. The great satisfaction which both Franklin and Adams express, in the temper with which he carried on the discussion, justifies seemingly the suspicion, that he was scarcely a match for the veteran and energetic negotiators against whom he was pitched.

There remained no longer any question as to the grant of independence; but there were still three subjects of warm discussion: 1. The western boundary, which the British wished to be formed by the Ohio, while the States demanded its extension to the lakes. 2. Their requisition of a share in the rich fisheries of Newfoundland, and other northern American coasts. 3. The compensation demanded by the British for the loyalists, who, adhering to the mother country, had been driven out of the colonies. On all these points, the Americans were prepared to make a most resolute stand; but they had soon the mortification to find, that the allied cabinet was disposed, respecting them all, to take a cold and even unfriendly part. This they were found to express, not only to themselves, but even to the British negotiators, particularly in respect to the loyalist compensation. Mr.

Adams assigns several reasons for this disposition, which seems rather fanciful. Probably in this monarchical cabinet, amid all the force of political interest, there was a strong feeling in favour of loyalty. The French ministers, too, aiming at extensive objects of their own, felt that the more the Americans gained, the less share could they themselves expect of what England might be willing to cede.

The commissioners now found themselves in a peculiar situation. Mr. Oswald's earnest desire of peace, and also of concluding one separate from France, afforded every assurance of gaining from him the objects considered essential. On the other hand, their instructions bound them strictly to act in concert with the French king; a course to which the States really lay under strong obligations. It was determined, however, under the prompting of Adams, to discard that consideration, and to conclude, with all possible speed, a separate preliminary treaty with Mr. Oswald. They succeeded, almost to their most sanguine hopes. The river St. Lawrence and the lakes were fixed as the leading boundaries, thereby extending their frontier at least to the Mississippi. They were allowed to take fish on the great bank, and within three leagues of the shores of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, and to dry them on any of the unsettled coasts. With regard to compensation for the loyalists, they contrived to satisfy the English by a stipulation, that congress would recommend it to the individual states; and they knew too well the degree of attention paid to such recommendations, to suppose that they had committed themselves very deeply

by this article. The treaty was signed on the 30th of November, 1782.

It became soon necessary to communicate this intelligence to Vergennes, who wrote on the occasion an indignant letter to Dr. Franklin, accusing him of having violated at once his instructions from congress and his obligations to the French king, and demanding an explanation. That statesman, who had really nothing to say in vindication, thought it best to plead guilty. He only urged, that his offence amounted merely to an indiscretion, a failure of *bienseance*, which he trusted would not interrupt their present happy union. He made lavish protestations of respect and gratitude to the French monarch, promising that nothing should be concluded without his concurrence. Vergennes probably saw that his compunction was not very deep; and, in fact, Adams, at the same time, wrote a letter to Mr. Livingston, foreign minister, strenuously justifying his conduct and that of his colleagues. At such a distance, and in untried circumstances, some discretion was necessary; and they would have been much to blame if, by following instructions issued in ignorance of important facts, they had thrown away great advantages that were within their reach. It does not appear, in fact, that any censure was ever passed on their having, contrary to orders, secured valuable benefits to their country.

The French cabinet do not seem to have been impelled by resentment to any serious breach. They had moved at first slowly, standing on very high ground; but the victory of Rodney, the signal repulse of the allied armaments before Gibraltar, and the dilapidated state of their finances, which led in a few years to so

fatal a crisis, made them very much in earnest on the subject. On the 20th of January, 1783, the preliminary treaty was signed between France, Spain, and Great Britain; and on the 3d of September, the definitive treaties of all the powers were signed together. That of America was ratified by congress on the 14th of January, 1784.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION, AND PROCEEDINGS UNDER IT.

THE United States had thus brought this long struggle to a triumphant issue; yet it left them in a state of peculiar distress and exhaustion. They had incurred a debt of forty-two million of dollars (above £9,000,000 sterling), besides twenty-four million incurred by the particular states. The power of congress to provide for this burden, and generally to execute any of the functions of government, had become almost a nullity. Of eight million of dollars, which they had demanded in 1782 as absolutely necessary for these purposes; they had received only four hundred and twenty thousand. Much of the territory had been laid waste by the war, while foreign commerce was nearly annihilated, and internal trade greatly obstructed, through restrictions imposed by the separate legislatures, who were wholly disinclined to submit to any general regulation. Hence, too, it became impossible to enter into any commercial arrangement with foreign nations.

The most urgent pressure arose from the arrears and claims of the army, amounting still to about ten thousand men. During several years they had been almost in a state of starvation, receiving a very small proportion of their pay, and in depreciated currency. They had been flattered by promises of ample liquidation as soon as

the contest should terminate; but on seeing the near approach of this event, and of their own consequent dissolution, they began deeply to speculate how and by whom these promises were to be fulfilled. Congress was manifestly incapable of doing more than hand them over to the states, with a favourable recommendation, the efficacy of which long experience had taught them to estimate. The officers in 1780 had received the promise of half-pay; but many states had expressed strong scruples against this measure as unconstitutional and aristocratic, and seemed little inclined to burden at once their consciences and their purses by its fulfilment. Amid these considerations, a disposition arose among the troops to use the arms which they held in their hands as the means of obtaining justice. A colonel, respectable from age and services, wrote to Washington in the name of a number of his brother officers, pointing out the deplorable state of the country, the manifest inefficiency of a republican constitution, and the necessity of adopting a mixed government, in which the power and even the name of king might not be omitted. It was evident at whom he hinted; and Washington had certainly a very fair prospect of being able to assume the sovereign authority. That patriotic commander, however, indignantly repelled the idea, expressing a painful regret that it should have arisen among any part of the army.

This proposal was not renewed; but as the prospects of peace became brighter, the anxieties of the army deepened. In December, 1783, the officers intrusted a committee of their number with a memorial to congress, representing their distressing situation, complaining that the promises hitherto made had produced only shadows.

and demanding their substantial execution. They offered, since objections had been made to the half-pay, to commute it for a certain number of years of the full amount. Some of the members strongly supported their claim, proposing five full years as a fair compensation; but as the consent of nine states could not be obtained, the consideration of the affair dropped. The committee reported this result to the officers, among whom the ferment soon became extreme. On the 10th of March, a meeting was called by an anonymous notice, accompanied with a letter, written, as was afterwards ascertained, by Major Armstrong. It complained in glowing terms of their hardships; while their country, instead of rewarding their services, trampled upon their rights, disdained their cries, and insulted their distresses. "Can you," it was said, "consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution; and, retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honour?—Awake; attend to your situation, and redress yourselves. If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain!" He proposed, therefore, instead of a *milk and water memorial*, to send a *remonstrance*, the tenor of which might harmonize with that of the letter. Doubtless the meeting, if held, would have fully responded to these sentiments. Washington, however, was fortunately in the camp, and acted with his usual firmness and prudence. Besides dealing with individuals, he called a general meeting instead of the proposed irregular one. He reprobated the tenor of the letter, and the implied pro-

posal of either deserting their country or turning their arms against her; at the same time expressing the strongest sense of their merits, and pledging himself to use his utmost efforts to obtain their demands. A complete turn was thus given to their feelings;—they unanimously declared full confidence in him, and appointed a committee, who drew up a series of resolutions avowing their abhorrence of the propositions made in the letter, but expressing a desire that the commander would write to the president of congress, earnestly soliciting a speedy decision. Washington did write in very strong language, which, coupled doubtless with a knowledge of the serious insurrectionary movements, procured an assent of nine states to the terms demanded. There were, however, no funds to make good this vote; and all the address of Washington was necessary to induce the troops to disband upon the mere engagement of congress. Indeed, a small detachment, which swelled to three hundred, marched to the house of assembly, and threatened that body, but were soon put down; and the pledges given to the army were we believe ultimately fulfilled.

On the 24th of March, 1783, a French vessel from Cadiz brought a letter from Lafayette, announcing the signature of the preliminary treaty. Soon after, Sir Guy Carleton gave an official notice of the same tenor. It was not, however, till the 25th of November, that—the definitive articles having been concluded—the British army evacuated New York, and the Americans from West Point entered. On the 4th of December, Washington took a solemn and deeply affecting farewell of his companions in arms, with whom he had passed through so many trying scenes and vicissitudes. On the 23d,

he repaired to Annapolis, then the seat of congress, into whose hands he resigned his commission, and retired finally, as he believed and wished, into private life.

The Union was thus delivered from any imminent danger; yet it lay in a helpless, inert, distracted state, unable to command either tranquillity at home or respect abroad. The small remnant of regard for the authority of congress, which had survived while there was any sense of peril, entirely ceased. Its members in vain urged the state assemblies to agree to a common duty on imports and exports, and to such general regulations of trade as might afford a basis for a commercial treaty. The mercantile states imagined that these measures would operate upon them unequally; and New York, the centre of this interest, absolutely refused its concurrence. Congress had power to make treaties, but not to enforce their observance; to contract debts, but not to pay them. Early in 1783, they drew up a plan for meeting at least the interest of the national debt; and Washington hesitated not to write to the several governors, urging in the strongest terms its adoption. Some impression was at first made; but the states soon relapsed into their habitual indifference. During fourteen months, there were paid into the public treasury only four hundred and eighty-two thousand eight hundred and ninety dollars; and the foreign interest was only defrayed by a fresh loan made in Holland. There was, indeed, a party throughout the confederation, zealous to support the central authority, and to maintain public credit; but another and powerful one arose, hostile to the former and indifferent to the latter. They began even to cherish an indisposition to pay any taxes what-

ever, or to place themselves at all under legal restraint. Conventions were formed, under whose direction mobs broke into the courthouses and dispersed the judges. Hence, not only public securities were reduced to a trifling value, but private property was greatly depreciated, from the uncertainty of protection.

It is remarkable that the centre of this lawless spirit should have been in New England. It prevailed there among a majority of the active young cultivators, with whom a theory became popular, that, having all contributed to defend the national property, they had all an equal right to its possession. In New Hampshire, a body of malcontents entered Exeter and made prisoners the general assembly of the state. The citizens, however, rose and crushed the movement in a few hours. A much stronger body in Massachusetts took possession of the courthouse, first at Northampton, and then at Worcester. All conciliatory measures having been vainly tried, the governor with difficulty raised funds chiefly among the citizens of Boston, called out four thousand militia, and placed them under General Lincoln. Before his arrival, however, a daring leader, Daniel Shays, with eleven hundred followers, marched to attack the arsenal; but General Sheppard had assembled a force for its defence, and on the approach of the insurgents, being unable to intimidate them either by threats or by firing over their heads, he ordered a real discharge, by which three were killed, when the rest fled precipitately. They continued in arms, however, till Lincoln came up, when they retreated and endeavoured to negotiate for delay. He rejected all their overtures; and, pressing rapidly forward, obliged them to disperse in every

direction. Their leaders either fled the territory, or fell into his hands. Fourteen were condemned to death, but afterwards pardoned.

The heads of the revolution beheld with deep concern this abortive result of so many efforts; their country distracted at home, disgraced abroad. Yet it was difficult to discover any remedy which would be practicable, and consistent with their principles. Chance led them on. Washington had contemplated with great interest a plan for uniting the Potomac and the Ohio, and thus connecting the eastern and western waters. He made a journey of six hundred and eighty miles on horseback, taking minute notes of every thing which could be subservient to this project. His influence, and the real importance of the design, induced the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland to send commissioners to Alexandria to deliberate on the subject. They met in March, 1785, and having spent some time at Mount Vernon, determined to recommend another commission, which might establish a general tariff on imports. The Virginia legislature not only agreed, but invited the other states to send deputies to meet at Annapolis. In September, 1786, they had arrived from five only, and with too limited powers. A number of able statesmen, however, were thus assembled, who, feeling deeply the depressed and distracted state of the country, became sensible that something on a much greater scale was necessary to raise her to prosperity, and give her a due place among the nations. They drew up a report and address to all the provincial assemblies, strongly representing the inefficiency of the present federal government, and earnestly urging them to send delegates to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787

Congress in February passed resolutions recommending this measure, of which, however, they did not perhaps anticipate all the results.

The states very readily responded to this call ; and at the appointed time the delegates from all except one had assembled. Never, perhaps, had any body of men combined for so great a purpose—to form a constitution which was to rule so numerous a people, and probably during so many ages. The members, consisting of the ablest men in America, were not unworthy of, nor unfit for, so great a trust. Washington, who appeared at the head of the Virginia deputation, was unanimously elected president of the whole. They had been appointed merely to revise the articles of confederation ; yet they had not deliberated long, when they determined that the existing congress must be entirely thrown overboard. The question, however, what was to be substituted in its place, was one of extreme difficulty.

On the 29th of May, Edmund Randolph, an eminent Virginia statesman, submitted a series of resolutions, embodying the plan of a new constitution. He proposed to form a general government, which should have a legislature, executive, and judiciary ; a revenue, army, and navy, all entirely independent of the states. It was to conduct peace, war, treaties, and all national transactions. This plan met with general favour ; yet a considerable body insisted that it involved too mighty a change ; that they were delegated to improve the existing system, not to extinguish it, and substitute one entirely new. Mr. Patterson, of New Jersey, submitted another, enlarging the powers of congress, attaching to it an executive and judiciary, yet leaving its resources

and supplies to be procured through the medium of the state governments. This was considered as retaining still the feature by which it was rendered necessarily inefficient. Being put to the vote on the 19th of June, it was supported, indeed, by New York, New Jersey, and Delaware ; but seven states gave a complete negative.

The opposition to Mr. Randolph's resolutions being thus overcome, a committee composed of himself and four others, was appointed to reduce them into the form of a constitution. On the 6th of August, they submitted a draft of one, which was the subject of long deliberation, and underwent many important alterations. In this and the former debate the main contest lay between the great and the small states, the former demanding a weight proportioned to their population and resources, the latter contending that they would be thus overwhelmed and oppressed. The struggle was severe, and matters seemed once at a complete stand, when a committee was appointed, which in three days suggested a compromise. The house of representatives was to be proportioned to the population ; but in the senate each state was to have an equal vote. This was carried by a considerable majority. A difficult question also arose respecting the slaves in the southern states, to whom no vote was allowed ; but who, it was contended, formed an essential element in the power and resources of these communities. A compromise was made ; three-fourths of them, under the title of "other persons," were to be added to the list upon which the number of representative members was to be apportioned.

On the 8th of September, Messrs Johnson, Hamilton,

Morris, Madison, and King, were named a committee "to revise the style and arrange the articles." It was presented by them on the 12th; yet the convention continued making amendments to the very last day. The result was on the whole very different from that originally contemplated. Having arisen, however, out of collision and compromise between all the different interests that divided the country, it had probably been rendered more safe and practicable.

On the 17th of September, this grand question came finally under decision. The constitution was then signed by thirty-nine of the fifty-five members, being more than two-thirds of the whole number. It was next submitted to congress, and by them transmitted to the provincial legislatures, who were invited to call conventions to take it into consideration. The stipulation was, that it should come into operation as soon as the ratification of nine states had been obtained; but this was an object of considerable difficulty. In 1787 it was adopted in conventions unanimously by Georgia, New Jersey, and Delaware, and by large majorities in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Maryland, and South Carolina. Two, however, were still wanting before it could be acted on, whence the Massachusetts convention, which met in the beginning of 1788, was viewed with intense interest. Its fate there appeared doubtful, from local feelings and recent discontents. Hancock, who had been so conspicuous through the Revolution, strenuously opposed it without the admission of certain proposed amendments by which state rights might be more fully guarded. It was supported with the utmost eloquence by Fisher Ames, and finally carried by the small majority of one hundred and

eighty-seven to a hundred and sixty-eight. In New Hampshire the greater number of delegates came instructed to vote against it; but after an adjournment, a majority of eleven was at last procured.

The requisite number of nine had thus been obtained; yet there were still wanting the important states of Virginia, New York, and North Carolina, without which it could scarcely be brought into action. In the first, the contest was long and fervid, and the displays of oratory are said to have been the most splendid ever yet made in America. Randolph and Madison took the lead in support of the measure, while Patrick Henry assailed it with eloquence almost unrivalled. He denounced it as a revolution more radical than that which had separated America from Britain. The convention had been delegated solely to amend the old federation, instead of which they had formed a great consolidated government, vesting in it the whole prerogative, and leaving to the states merely the poor laws, roads, bridges, and other trifling concerns. In the warmth of debate, he seemed to threaten resistance if the motion were carried; yet at last declared that even then he would remain a peaceful citizen, only devoting his head, his hand, his heart, to obtain redress in a constitutional manner. The measure was finally carried by eighty-eight to eighty. New York, thus left nearly alone, could only persevere at the cost of throwing herself entirely out of the Union. Yet, though the measure was supported by Jay, Hamilton, and Livingston, statesmen of the highest character, it was carried only by a majority of five, and with the demand of most extensive amendments.

Ample ground was now afforded for putting the

new constitution in movement, and the question arose, who was first to act as chief magistrate. All its friends agreed in looking to Washington as the individual, whose weight of character and reputation would unite all suffrages, and whose steady judgment would guide the vessel amid the difficulties in which it must for some time be involved. Of this general feeling he was soon apprised: yet he seems to have felt the most deep and unfeigned reluctance to undertake the task. He even declared, in a letter to General Lincoln, that it would be the greatest sacrifice of personal feelings and wishes that he had ever been called upon to make. He cherished a strong partiality for a life of rural retirement, and could hope no higher reputation than that already attained, which would even be endangered by placing himself in a new and untried situation. Having publicly renounced political life, he dreaded the reproach of inconsistency, and doubted not that, while making a reluctant sacrifice, he would be supposed to act from the mere impulse of vulgar ambition. His friends, however, urged that he could not possibly resist the general call. Colonel Hamilton, a statesman of the highest character, wrote a series of letters, representing that his aid was indispensable,—without it the new system could have no fair trial; that having gone so far in its support, he was pledged and could not recede without dishonour; in short, that no option was left. After this correspondence, though not giving an absolute consent, he seems never to have seriously hesitated.

Owing to various delays, the house of representatives did not meet till the 20th of March, 1789, nor the senate till the 6th of April following. In that body, the votes

for the president, being examined, were found all, without a single exception, to have been given in favour of Washington. There was something peculiarly grand in this unanimous consent of a great nation in favour of a man distinguished only by solid merit, without the brilliant qualities which usually attract popular admiration. The possession of one whose merit crushed all dissent, was referred to by Adams, who had been named vice-president, as a special blessing of Providence on this first opening of the Union. A messenger was immediately despatched to Washington, at Mount Vernon, and having probably formed his resolution, he at once accepted the high office. Yet in an address to the citizens of Alexandria, he declared himself unable to describe his painful emotions on the occasion, and to a confidential friend compared them to those of a culprit going to execution. His progress to Philadelphia, however, resembled a triumph; he was escorted by parties of militia, and welcomed by crowds of spectators. The bridge over the Schuylkill was studiously decorated, an arch of laurel formed for him to pass under, a civic crown dropped on his head, and at night the city was illuminated.

On the 30th of April, the new president, with considerable pomp, and in presence of a vast concourse of people, took the oath of office. He then proceeded to the senate, and in a sensible and pious address, without specifying any particular measure, explained the general principles that were to guide his conduct. He intimated, as formerly, his intention to decline the emoluments of the office, limiting himself to the repayment of his necessary expenses. The senate made a most cordial reply, in which they said,—“ In you all parties con-

fide; in you all interests unite; and we have no doubt that your past services, great as they have been, will be equalled by your future exertions." The answer of the house of representatives was in a tone equally gratifying.

The most urgent consideration in congress was the raising of a revenue by duties on imported goods. The necessity of this measure had been fully agreed upon by a majority of the states; yet there arose many opinions and conflicting interests as to the articles and the amount. The proposition to make a difference between those in foreign and native bottoms was objected to as favouring the shipping in preference to the agricultural interest. It was, however, carried to a certain extent; but another for distinction in favour of those powers which had concluded commercial treaties with the states, after being passed in the lower house, was negatived in the senate.

Another very urgent object was the organization and filling of the public departments. It was determined that there should be three,—of the treasury, of war, and of foreign affairs, with a secretary at the head of each. The constitution had provided that the nomination should rest with the president, subject to the approbation of the senate; but in the course of debate, a question arose, whether the former, by his single power, should be able to remove these officers. It was strongly urged that such a prerogative would raise his power to an exorbitant height, and enable him to do great injustice to deserving individuals. It was answered, that the person raised by the people to so high a station could not reasonably be supposed capable of such misconduct;

and that in thus acting, he would expose himself to impeachment. The motion was carried in the lower house by a majority of thirty-four to twenty, but in the senate only by the casting vote of the vice-president. The personal confidence placed in Washington is supposed to have been the chief cause of this privilege being intrusted to the chief magistrate; and the predictions of its never being used for political purposes or with hardship to individuals have not been fulfilled, nor have the expected remedies ever been applied.

The president, thus empowered to form a cabinet, proceeded to that delicate task with his usual strict integrity and simple regard for the public good. He had refused to give any pledge in answer to numerous applications on the subject, and thus reserved himself perfectly unbiassed. The treasury, the department of most immediate importance, was intrusted to Colonel Hamilton. This choice was founded upon a long intimacy with that eminent statesman, and was fully justified by his performance of its duties; yet it proved a somewhat troublous one, as respected the president himself. Hamilton had embraced with ardour those opinions which might be termed ultra-federal, being believed to have desired a stronger government, and one more nearly approximating to the British, than the other framers would consent to; he is even supposed to have desired a senate and president for life. Disappointed in these views, he lent himself frankly and cordially to promote the working of the adopted system; yet his measures bore always a stamp of his real sentiments; and as the public feeling soon began to run in an opposite direction, he became more and more unpopular. The next step was to give

the department of foreign affairs to Mr. Jefferson, who had been absent five years on diplomatic missions, in which he had highly distinguished himself, and proved indeed eminently qualified to conduct this department. But he embraced, to an extent not then known, or probably fully developed, the political system most opposite to that of Hamilton. Becoming always more attached to it, he acquired thereby a large share of popular favour, but introduced violent dissensions into the cabinet. General Knox was continued at the head of the war department, which he had previously held. These three officers were understood to form a cabinet, whose opinion, either verbal or written, the president could require upon any subject; but they were allowed no control over his decision.

The next object of consideration for congress was the amendments proposed by New York and Virginia. These states attached to them such importance, that they had given their reluctant consent to the constitution only in the hope of their adoption. Mr. Madison accordingly brought forward twelve; but which were in fact rather evasions than fulfilment of the demands of his constituents. They consisted chiefly in provisions for the security of personal rights; the only one having the desired tendency being a stipulation that every power not expressly delegated to the united government was reserved to the states. The advocates of the amendments treated with the utmost indignation this virtual rejection of their claims, and the refusal to call a convention to deliberate upon the subject. Even while admitting Mr. Madison's proposals to be so far good, they opposed their adoption as a mere opiate to divert the

public mind from the call for more substantial benefits. It was therefore through the exertions of the federal party itself, that the articles, as the constitution required, were referred to the states. The latter were very ill satisfied; but the popularity of the united government was so strong and growing, that they were obliged to smother their chagrin, and give up any further resistance.

After a course of proceedings generally approved by the nation, congress rose on the 29th of September. The second session met in January, 1790, and was distinguished by a grand financial plan submitted by Hamilton. The public debt of the Union was stated at fifty-four millions of dollars, of which eleven and three quarters were foreign, chiefly due to France and Holland; and there were besides twenty-five millions owing by the different states. It was proposed to fund this whole amount, and make provision for the payment of the interest, with a sinking fund for its gradual liquidation. This plan, in its successive provisions, met with the most pertinacious opposition. The system was altogether objected to by some as giving to the debt a more permanent character, and as having involved the governments of the old world in deep embarrassment. It was easy to show that, funded or unfunded, the debt must be paid, while in the former shape it could be dealt with much more easily, and on better terms. Many, however, contended, that a reduction ought to be made on its amount. Through the low state of public credit, it had mostly passed from the original holders to speculative purchasers, who had obtained it at a very low rate (even of 2s. 6d. in the pound), and would make an exorbitant profit if, beyond expectation, they should receive pay-

ment in full. It was urged on the other side that the value had been received, that the national honour was pledged, and its credit was gone if it refused fulfilment. Mr. Madison, however, made a motion which met with great favour, that the purchasers should receive the highest price which government paper had borne in the market, and the difference be paid to the original lender. It was admitted by his opponents that the latter had suffered severe hardship; yet the original contract making the money payable to assignees or bearer, would thus be violated. The very principle of the issue was to be transferable; it would be both impracticable and ruinous to public credit for government to open afresh transactions between individuals. The motion was lost by a great majority.

The most strenuous contest, however, arose respecting the assumption by the general government of the debts contracted by the particular states. These, it was argued, had been incurred to defray the expense of the great contest which was common to all; chiefly too by those on whose soil the military operations had been waged, and who in other respects had thereby suffered. Massachusetts, in particular, had borne the first brunt of the war, and had provided the necessary resources before any congress was organized to which she could look for aid. The consequence however was, that the distribution was very unequal, and those states whose amount was small, were not much inclined to assume an equal share of the general burden. One or two, as Virginia, which by great efforts had paid off a considerable part, seemed to have particular ground of complaint. After a long and animated debate of several

days, it was carried in the representatives, but by a very narrow majority. Immediately after, North Carolina having acceded to the Union, her deputies came in and turned the scale. By a majority of two voices, the resolution was recommitted, and afterwards negatived. Its advocates, however, continued the struggle, and a compromise was at last effected, by which the amount was reduced to twenty-one millions, and assumed in specific proportions from the different states. The claims of Massachusetts and South Carolina, which amounted to more than ten millions and a half, were thus reduced to four millions each. In this shape it at length passed both houses by very small majorities. The whole of Hamilton's plan was thus carried with some slight modification, and is now generally acknowledged to have been wise and politic; indeed its good effects were speedily evident. Yet all its provisions were in the interest of the central government; and it required an extent of impost to which the Americans were not well prepared to submit. Having indeed undertaken the war with a special view to escape taxation, they could not but severely feel the result of being obliged to pay ten times the amount ever demanded by the mother-country. Virginia passed resolutions strongly censuring the measure; the first step of that nature taken by any state legislature.

Undismayed by this opposition, Hamilton proceeded, in the third session, to complete the circle of his financial operations. The most delicate part still remained, of imposing new taxes to defray the interest of the debt. A general assent had been given; yet when the specific objects came to be fixed, they pressed painfully upon

various interests. Additional duties on imported goods were admitted as following of course; but they would not yield the requisite amount without an addition of £200,000, proposed to be levied on distilled spirits. The tax was unexceptionable, and any other would in fact have been more odious; yet it could be branded with the hateful title of excise, and affected an indulgence to which the western settlers especially were strongly addicted. The states, too, viewed with much jealousy this intrusion into their internal concerns of a power considered almost as foreign. Four, in the course of its discussion, passed resolutions against it. This did not prevent its being passed by a large majority; yet a military force was in some places necessary to carry it into execution.

Hamilton followed it up with the plan of a national bank for aiding the operations of government. The contest upon this subject in the legislature was still more severe. Such an institution was said not only to be of doubtful utility, but to be beyond the powers granted by the constitution to the general government. In fact no mention had been made of a right to vest peculiar privileges in this or indeed any corporation. In reply, it was represented as promising the greatest advantages, while, being necessary, or at least highly useful in relation to other powers specially granted, it might be considered as implied in them. The measure was carried by nineteen votes; yet being presented to the president for his sanction, he found his cabinet completely divided, Hamilton and Knox advising him to approve, Jefferson and Randolph to exercise his veto. He called for written opinions from them; and those of

Hamilton and Jefferson on opposite sides are considered as having exhausted the subject. After full consideration, he decided on giving his sanction to the bill.

Hamilton had thus carried all his measures, yet not without exposing himself to considerable odium. Two parties had now been regularly formed, and worked up to great mutual exasperation. The original opposition to the union had nearly ceased; its advantages both to the dignity and interests of the nation were generally admitted. Even the terms of the constitution were no longer arraigned; but wherever they left room for any doubt, each faction eagerly urged its own interpretation. What made this contest strongly felt, was its raging in the heart of the cabinet, the two leading members of which, politically and personally opposed, accused each other, one as an advocate of high prerogative, and even of monarchy, the other as a democrat and anarchist. The mind of Washington moved in a sphere generally superior to party. While sanctioning the measures of Hamilton, he blamed his violence, and being unwilling to part with his antagonist, whose official conduct was meritorious, he earnestly, but vainly, remonstrated with both, seeking to soften their extreme hostility. Upon the whole, he himself, being considered justly as not mixing in the strife of faction, incurred little odium, and was still looked up to with veneration by both parties.

In March, 1791, the first congress terminated, and another was elected, in which the federal party still maintained a majority. The opening session was chiefly distinguished by Washington's first exercise of the veto. A census having been taken in 1790, by which the

population appeared to be nearly four millions, congress were called upon to apportion accordingly the number of deputies. They made such a distribution, that in some cases the proportion fixed by the constitution of one in thirty thousand was exceeded. Here, too, the cabinet was divided; but the president, now following Jefferson's advice, objected to the measure, and the houses acquiesced. Next session it was necessary to impose some new taxes, and the question arose whether those appropriated to the national debt should be permanent, as recommended by the secretary to the treasury, or should require an annual vote. The latter course was strongly supported by the popular interest, and lost only by the casting vote of the speaker. The same body afterwards brought forward a series of charges against Hamilton's official conduct, to which the press fiercely responded; yet they were successfully refuted, and negatived by large majorities.

Early in 1793, the critical period arrived of the close of Washington's first term of office. He seems to have felt, as before, an unfeigned anxiety to return into private life; but all the leading men, even Jefferson among the foremost, urged, in the strongest terms, the duty of remaining. The tendencies to anarchy appeared still so strong, as to be checked only by the weight of his character and influence. A unanimous re-election indicated that the feelings of the people towards him had undergone no change. Adams, however, as vice-president, was opposed by Governor Clinton, of New York, and gained the appointment only by seventy-seven votes to fifty. Besides the violent internal conflict, a formidable Indian war had for some time been raging, and in the

negotiations with the European powers difficulties had arisen, aggravated by the breaking out of the revolution in France. We must now look back to take a connected view of these important objects.

It is painful to observe, that the Indians always regarded the "Big Knives," or, as they afterwards termed them, the "Thirteen United Fires," with the bitterest enmity. In the last war they had taken a decided part with the British, who incurred thereby reproaches not always perhaps unmerited; yet urged with little right by their opponents, who had themselves made overtures, which were peremptorily rejected. Even the most candid American historians throw almost the whole blame upon that unfortunate race. Official documents, however, to be presently referred to, honestly admit, that they were, at least, as much sinned against as sinning. The general government, indeed, appears to have desired to treat them with justice and humanity; but they could not control the numerous and fierce body of back settlers, who took the lead in the new states of Kentucky and Georgia. General Knox admits that the intercourse between those of the former state and the Indians was one of reciprocal outrage, demanding "a critical investigation, to discover on which side the greatest wrongs were committed. The regular system seems to have been, whenever any settlers were killed, for a party to set out and slay the first Indians they met, without any inquiry whether they were of the guilty tribe. Knox mentions a party of Kentuckians who made an inroad into the Wabash territory, and killed a number of Piankeshaws, a tribe who prided themselves on their attachment to the United States; but he observes that all bearing the name

of Indians were objects of aversion. Afterward, when fair prospects of peace had arisen, they were interrupted by Captain Beard crossing the Tennessee and killing a number of friendly Indians; but the report states such a *prejudice* to exist on the frontier, that the deed must be left unpunished. In other quarters, two men having been slain and scalped by a body of Creeks, the militia set out, overtook, and killed twelve Indians, but presently discovered that they belonged to a different tribe from the murderers. Yet, when its chief demanded the leader of the expedition, the reporter declares that his blood "runs warm in his veins" at the idea, and calls rather for further chastisement. Hence we cannot disbelieve the Indian complaint, that one after another of their best families was killed, and no punishment ever followed. A letter appears from the Tennessee chiefs, Cornplanter, New-arrow, and Big-tree, to General Knox, complaining that several of their best and perfectly innocent countrymen had been murdered by Captain Brady, of the States service. They add: "We hope you will not suffer all the good people to be killed; but your people are killing them as fast as they can." They complain elsewhere of the bitter hatred with which they are regarded, and of being considered as "animals fit only to be exterminated." Indeed, we find Washington, at a later period, candidly stating as "an important truth, which continually receives new confirmations, that the provisions heretofore made with a view to the protection of the Indians from the violence of the lawless part of our frontier inhabitants are insufficient. It is demonstrated that these violences can now be perpetrated with impunity." There is no doubt that they, too, were often

the aggressors, and that their retaliation was terrible; yet we find several parties of commissioners stating that they discovered a disposition to cultivate amicable relations, which prudent measures might have rendered effectual. Another grievous circumstance to them was the loss of their lands, which they were induced by present temptations to agree to, but afterwards bitterly felt and repented. A Cherokee chief complains that whenever an interview was asked, under whatever pretext, this was always the real object. They must part with no more hunting-grounds—they must perish to a man in their defence. Cornplanter complains that he and others incurred this reproach, being asked,—“Brothers of our fathers, where is the place which you have reserved for us to lie down upon?” and he adds: “We must know from you whether you mean to leave us and our children any land to till.” The government sanctioned no means of acquisition except purchase; yet it is admitted that many of its subjects unjustly extended their surveys, and hunted in the very heart of the Indian territory

The general government was, doubtless, thus placed in a very painful condition,—unable to control the violence of the border militia, yet in a manner obliged to aid in the protection of its people. The Indians were encouraged by their former alliance with the British, who still retained their western posts, though disavowing, seemingly with truth, that they now fomented any hostile movement. The Spaniards, also, indignant at the loss of the Mississippi territory, carried on secret intrigues among them. Yet they seem to have been overawed by the formation of the “Thirteen United Fires;”

and in 1788 a negotiation was opened with the northern tribes. In October, Mr. Wynn held a friendly conference with their great chiefs ; and on the 9th of January, 1789, a treaty was concluded at Fort Harmar, embracing the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Sacs, and Pottawatomies. On the 7th of August, 1790, another was entered into with the southern nation of the Creeks. They were by these treaties secured in the possession of their present lands, only engaging not to sell them to any other nation except the States ; they were even allowed, if no injury was done, to hunt on grounds belonging to the latter. Mutual wrongs were to be redressed, not by retaliation, but by appeal to the proper authorities. There remained, however, fierce tribes on the Miami and the Wabash, between whom and the Kentuckians there had long raged "war to the knife," from which little prospect appeared of either party desisting. In these circumstances, General Knox, while admitting the wrongs to be quite mutual, very coolly lays down the alternative of either extirpating or making peace with these tribes. Happily, the motives of justice and humanity were reinforced by those of national character, and by the still more cogent one that there did not exist means of effecting the extirpation. The Union had only six hundred regular troops, and the finances would not support above two thousand five hundred of every description, a number inadequate to the object. Orders were therefore sent to stop, if possible, the inroads of the Kentuckians, and to make overtures to the savages. Both attempts having been abortive, no alternative remained but to make war with the best means in their power.

In September, 1790, General Harmar was sent forward with three hundred and twenty regulars, who, being reinforced by the militia of Pennsylvania and Kentucky, formed a corps of one thousand four hundred and fifty-three men. The Indians, on his approach, set fire to their villages; but this was nothing, unless they could be brought to an engagement. Harmar, however, instead of advancing himself with the main body, sent forward Colonel Harden, with two hundred and ten men, of whom only thirty were regulars. They were attacked; the militia fled; the others were nearly cut off, including a gallant youth, son to General Scott. The general then sent forward Harden, with three hundred men, who speedily encountered another large body. After a brave contest, in which this party lost nearly half their number, they retreated on the main body. Harmar claimed the victory, on what ground Marshall owns it is difficult to discern. His conduct in keeping behind and encountering the enemy with these small detachments seems most unaccountable; yet, on being tried by a court-martial, he was acquitted. To retrieve this failure, Washington obtained authority to raise two thousand men for six months' service; not likely to constitute a very efficient force. From various difficulties it could not be forwarded till the end of 1791, when it was placed under General St. Clair, governor of the western territory. The object was to destroy the settlements on the Miami, and expel the natives from that district. St. Clair, with one thousand four hundred men, advanced on the 3d of November to the vicinity of these villages, where he took post to await reinforcements. Before sunrise next day the troops were roused by the sound of the Indian

war-cry ; the enemy were in the camp, and in a few minutes had penetrated throughout, and even to the rear. Invisible death continued to pour in from every side ; the assailants, stretched on the ground, or lurking behind trees, were seen only as they sprang from one covert to another. As usual, a number of the militia fled, when the others, with broken ranks, bore the whole brunt, and the officers, who were veteran and brave, became fatally exposed. Several charges were made with the bayonet ; but in this scene of confusion they could not be effectively followed up. St. Clair at length saw no alternative but to order a retreat, which was effected in the utmost confusion. His loss amounted to six hundred and thirty-one killed, among whom were General Butler and thirty-seven other officers, and two hundred and sixty-three wounded. Yet by a committee of inquiry in congress he was fully acquitted, which we cannot but think another instance of extreme leniency, since it seems impossible to consider him as having taken due precaution against surprise.

This intelligence fell like a thunderbolt upon the government, which had already to struggle against a strong spirit of discontent. It was easy to foresee, what indeed immediately ensued, that all the treaties would be dissolved, and a general savage confederacy formed against the United States. Washington, impressed with the necessity of having some kind of regular force, proposed to raise three regiments of infantry for three years, which, with a squadron of cavalry, would give a total of five thousand. The opposition strongly objected, arraiging the origin of the war, insisting that it should now be purely defensive, and that the border militia were the

best fitted for it,—a most delusive idea, when their conduct had been its chief cause. The motion was carried: but such a strong desire of peace was manifested, that Washington, though with scarcely a hope of success, sent two distinguished officers with proposals; but both were unhappily murdered by the savages. The Miami and Wabash Indians opened communications with all the tribes that had entered into the treaty at Fort Harmar, and even with part of the Creeks and Cherokees. A meeting was held of sixteen nations, in which it was determined to accept of no terms short of making the Ohio the boundary between them and the States.

Though St. Clair had been acquitted, he was not continued in the command; his place being supplied by General Wayne. That officer, however, could not fully bring forward his strength till the summer of 1794. He then, with two thousand six hundred regulars and one thousand and twenty-nine mounted militia, advanced along the Miami. On the 7th of July, Major McMahon, occupying a fortified post, was attacked by a strong body, who were repulsed; yet they rallied, and kept up a fire during the whole day. He lost twenty-two killed and thirty wounded, four of the former being officers. Wayne now pushed forward upon their main fort of Grand Glaize, which he reached on the 8th of August. It had been precipitately abandoned the preceding evening, and, he believes, would have been surprised had not a deserter from his own army given warning. He then advanced upon the main body, drawn up at six miles' distance under cover of a British fort. Major Price, commanding his vanguard, was driven back, but the troops soon after came in view of the enemy.

They held a position well fitted for their peculiar warfare, being within a thick wood, encumbered with felled trees; and their line, in three divisions, within supporting distance, extended two miles. Wayne had the sagacity to discover, that against this enemy, so posted, a regular fire in line would be wholly ineffective. He directed his troops to march through the wood with trailed arms, then with the bayonet rouse the enemy from their covert, and when they were up, pour in a close, well-directed fire, followed up by a brisk charge. The cavalry, in two bodies, under General Scott and Captain Campbell, were, by a circuitous route, to come on their right and left flanks. The attack, however, made by the foremost line according to the above directions, was attended with such immediate success, that the second line and the cavalry only partially came into action. The enemy were dislodged from their position, and driven in confusion through the woods, till they found shelter under the guns of the English fort. The American loss, however, was greater than seems quite to accord with so very easy a victory, amounting to thirty-three killed, and one hundred wounded, of whom eleven died. An angry correspondence followed between Wayne and the British commander; the former complaining that he should hold a fortified position there at all, and afford shelter to the Indians; while the latter replies that he occupied the place by orders of his government, and that Wayne had broken the laws of war by advancing within pistol fire, when he ought not to have come nearer than cannon shot.

Wayne now laid waste the country, destroying the villages for fifty miles on each side of the Miami; then

returned to Grand Glaize, and began fortifying his positions. Though his triumph deterred many tribes from joining the cause, the main enemy remained in arms, while his own forces were mouldering away, through the unhappy system of temporary enlistment. The militia ought to have remained till the 14th of November; but by the middle of October, they were seized, he says, with such violent symptoms of home-sickness, that it became necessary to dismiss them. The legion was reduced to a skeleton; and by May next, the period of service for all would expire. The forts were becoming tolerably strong, but were in great danger of being left without garrisons; so that unless extraordinary exertions were made to reinforce the army, it would have fought, bled, and conquered in vain. Secretary Pickering was thus obliged to give to congress the unwelcome intimation, that an additional force would be necessary, even to maintain a defensive attitude. The Indians, however, appear to have been stunned by the blow, and by seeing, doubtless, that there was a method by which they could be vanquished. A number moved westward, and some even crossed the Mississippi. They were probably finally determined by the evacuation of all the western forts by Britain in June, 1795. On the 16th, four chiefs came and presented the calumet of peace, and were followed, on the 3d of July, by a more numerous deputation, all declaring their desire of a treaty with the Fifteen Fires. Their reception was courteous; two forfeited lives of their countrymen were spared; and the negotiation, proceeding with the most favourable disposition, terminated in the treaty of Greenville, in which ten nations were included. A considerable cession of

land was required ; in other respects, the terms were the same as on former occasions.

About the same time, the Union was agitated by trouble from another quarter. We have already observed, that the duty on distilled spirits had excited strong dissatisfaction, particularly in the border districts. The four western counties of Pennsylvania took the lead, and were then in so rude a state, that the law could be but imperfectly enforced. The disturbance commenced with a strong expression of opinions hostile to the measure, and reprobation of those who accepted any office in the collection of the revenue. At a meeting held on the 23d of August, 1791, the acceptors were declared enemies of their country, and resolutions passed to hold no communication with them. On the 7th of September, delegates were named to carry on a regular opposition. Several persons employed in the collection, or even letting a house for the purpose, were tarred, feathered, and their hair cut off; nor were they released but on a promise not to repeat such heinous offences. Attempts were made to gain the malcontents by lenient measures, and even by modifications introduced into the act; but they were thus only rendered more daring, and at length organized a regular resistance not only to this law, but to the whole authority of the United States. In the summer of 1794, the marshal, attempting to execute a process, was assailed by an armed party of thirty or forty, and being taken prisoner, was compelled by threats of immediate death to promise never to repeat such a step. In July, a band advanced to the house of Melville, the inspector, and though repulsed, soon came back, reinforced to the amount of five hundred. Hav-

ing in vain demanded admittance, they attacked the building, and, with the loss of one killed and three wounded, finally carried and set it on fire. The marshal and inspector had fled, and, by a circuitous route down the Ohio, reached Washington. The malcontents next stopped and opened the mails, thus discovering the persons hostile to their views, whom they obliged also to quit the territory. Washington felt extreme distress at these events, being most unwilling to array citizen against citizen, and publish the dishonour of such excesses. The object, too, could only be effected by a call upon the neighbouring states for a large militia force, and considerable doubts were felt as to their obedience. His cabinet agreed, however, that no choice was left; and notice was given for this force to be in readiness, while commissioners endeavoured to treat with the insurgents. They found the men of property and intelligence, though they had kindled the flame, alarmed at the extent to which it had spread, yet unable to control it. Sixty of them formed a committee of safety; and, after a conference, decided, by a majority of thirty-four to twenty-three, that it was the interest of the people to accept the proposals of government. They durst not, however, make the agreement final without an appeal to the people. Persons of character in each district were named to take the sense of the public. Many, however, were found hostile; Pittsburg alone was quite favourable; and in Washington, the agreement was made only in confidence of repeal. On the whole, there appeared no prospect of obtaining any regular obedience to the laws. Washington, seeing no alternative, called upon the states of Pennsylvania, Virginia,

Maryland, and New Jersey, to furnish fifteen thousand militia. Anxiety had been felt as to the result; but these states, though somewhat discontented on this and on other grounds, made scarcely any hesitation in enforcing the authority of the general government. The troops, commanded by the governor of Virginia, advanced in two columns into the disturbed territory. The number had been made so large, in the hope that, by overpowering all attempts of opposition, it might save bloodshed. This was happily fulfilled; no resistance was attempted; the ringleaders either fled, or were taken and treated with lenity.

By this time foreign affairs had become of engrossing importance; and we must here take a considerable retrospect, having reserved the subject to be treated in a consecutive manner. Britain was of course the power whose enmity was most to be dreaded. In fact, there soon arose serious differences as to the execution of several points in the late treaty. The articles relating to the payment of debts and the restitution of property rested chiefly with the states, who paid no greater regard to the demands of the present congress than to those of the former. Not only did they neglect the required means of implementing their obligations, but they passed acts of a directly opposite tendency. Britain, in retaliation, withheld the surrender of the western forts,—a circumstance peculiarly distressing from the encouragement it afforded to Indian hostility. John Adams, one of the most eminent statesmen of the revolution, was therefore sent, in 1785, on a mission to London. He was well received, and introduced to the king, who, in answer to a very courteous speech, declared his desire to cultivate

friendship with the United States. "I wish you, sir," said he, "to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to conform to the separation; but the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power." When, however, Adams addressed a memorial to Lord Carmarthen, secretary of state, demanding the delivery of the forts, he was met by a statement of infractions committed on the part of the United States, and assured, that when these were redressed, the treaty would be fully executed. Unable to repel the allegations, he could merely undertake to transmit them to congress. No disposition was shown, as had been hoped, to conclude a commercial treaty, or to send a minister in return. The cabinet seems to have considered the American government as in a disunited state, likely for a long time to be a prey to anarchy, and destitute of political consideration.

This report was made to congress, who could not deny the charges; but the blame rested with the states, who were earnestly solicited to rescind such of their acts as obstructed the execution of the treaty; but to this request they paid only their usual partial and imperfect attention. The affair thus remained in a precarious state, and irritation continued to ferment in the minds of the people. On the formation of the united government, Washington anxiously contemplated the opening of more regular and satisfactory communica-

tions; but unwilling to commit the national dignity by a direct overture, he engaged Gouverneur Morris, in whom he greatly confided, and who happened to be in England on his private affairs, quietly to sound the cabinet. While professing friendly dispositions, however, the British government repeated the former complaints, representing the losses thereby sustained as greater than could now admit of redress, and showing no disposition to surrender the western posts, which they were suspected of desiring to retain with a view to the fur trade. Thus the relation between the two nations continued unsatisfactory and precarious. Not long after, however, Mr. Hammond was sent out as plenipotentiary, and arrived in October, 1791, when Major Pinkney was deputed in the same character to the court of London. A regular diplomatic intercourse was thus established between the two powers.

Spain, though the ally of America during the great contest, had not since viewed her with an eye altogether friendly. We have seen how the American negotiators eluded the claims of that power on the Mississippi and its territory, reducing her to the necessity of renouncing them or maintaining the contest alone. The Spanish court did not now attempt to press their territorial demand beyond the thirty-first degree of latitude; but in regard to the boundaries of Florida, which had been ceded to her by the treaty, the two parties entertained widely different views. The Americans likewise anxiously desired the navigation of the Mississippi to the sea, and had introduced an article to that effect in the English treaty; but Spain repelled, as foreign to all her views, this intrusion of strangers into the heart of her territory. As

Mr. Jay was setting out for Madrid with full powers, he was anticipated by the arrival of Don Diego de Gardoqui, with whom he immediately began to negotiate. That envoy, however, showed the strongest determination upon both the above points, though offering, if they were conceded, some important commercial advantages in exchange. Jay was inclined to have concluded a treaty for twenty-five or thirty years, during which the States should forbear using the navigation, without renouncing their right. He urged to congress that there was little prospect during that period of the settlements being so extended as to render the navigation of much value ; while at its close they would probably be better able to assert their claims. The decision of the senate was, however, necessary ; and in that body, seven northern states indeed voted for Mr. Jay's proposal, but five southern against it. As the constitution required nine to sanction a treaty, this amounted to a negative. Indeed, as soon as the proposition transpired, a complete flame was kindled, which seemed almost to threaten the Union. Resolutions poured in from the western territories, expressing the utmost astonishment and indignation at the idea of sacrificing a right which they deemed inalienable ; and the Virginia assembly warmly concurred. Congress was obliged to pass a resolution, asserting the right in the most unequivocal terms ; and there remained thus no basis on which the negotiation with Spain could proceed.

That country remained thus in a hostile attitude, the effects of which were somewhat severely felt. The vessels which attempted to descend the Mississippi were seized and forfeited ; agents were employed among the

Creeks and other hostile Indians, to whom even arms were forwarded. Yet the position of the question was so hopeless, that no fresh attempt was made till the beginning of 1793, when Spain, being involved in a serious dispute with Britain regarding Nootka Sound, might, it was hoped, be more accommodating. Mr. Carmichael was empowered to open a negotiation at Madrid, and his proposal was well received, but to his dismay he found Gardoqui again the negotiator. That person professed the most cordial readiness to enter on the subject, yet raised many delays; and when the main points came under discussion was found as immovable as ever. He declared his government would on no account open the Mississippi navigation, or allow any foreigners to enter her American territory. All that could be listened to would be fixing a depot at the frontier, to which the goods could be brought, and conveyed down by Spanish barks. The proposed limits of Florida were stated to be equally inadmissible. In short, the views of the negotiators were found "so widely divergent, that they could not be brought within the circle of negotiation." The employment of agents among the Indians was at first denied, but on undoubted proofs being produced, was acknowledged and defended.

France alone of these powers professed an ardent attachment to the young republic, of which she considered herself almost a parent. Yet circumstances arose which rendered her friendship more embarrassing than the hostility of the other parties, though no serious inconvenience ensued till the arrival of the important crisis of the Revolution. This event was at first generally hailed by the Americans as accordant with their political ideas, and

likely to draw closer their ties with so great a nation ; but when it advanced with such formidable rapidity—when the monarchy was entirely swept away, and the whole power placed in a convention of the people—wide differences of opinion arose. Many in the nation enthusiastically applauded these changes, desired to fraternize with the new republic, and even to break down those limited checks upon popular power which their own system comprised. More reflecting men, and especially the federal chiefs, viewed it as wanting any principle of stability, and as the harbinger of anarchy and desolation ; an opinion early and boldly avowed by Hamilton, whose unpopularity was thus greatly augmented. Washington viewed the subject with his usual dignified coolness, and chiefly in reference to the conduct which he himself ought to pursue. No doubt was felt as to the propriety of acknowledging any government which the French people might deliberately establish ; but Gouverneur Morris, the ambassador, in witnessing the furious and doubtful conflict of factions, proceeded with a degree of cautious circumspection which gave offence to the extreme republicans both in France and America.

Matters assumed a much more serious aspect when war broke out between France and England, and Genet, an ardent republican, was announced to be coming out as ambassador. The main difficulty was, that the treaty of alliance included a defensive guarantee of the French West Indies, and might thus be construed as obliging America to make common cause with her ally. The president then held long and anxious consultations with his cabinet both by speech and writing ; and their opinions were divided. Hamilton and his party urged that

the French government being entirely changed, and the war offensive on their part, America was in no degree bound to co-operate; that this ought to be announced at once to the new ambassador, who, besides, should not be received with the same respect as one from a regular and established power. But Jefferson contended that his reception should be as usual, and that the question of war should be for the present reserved. On the first point Washington concurred; but after serious deliberation, he determined upon adopting a course of strict neutrality, and ordered a proclamation to that effect to be prepared and published. This important step, which experience amply justified, was nevertheless at great variance with the present temper of the nation; and his popularity received a severe temporary shock, which, however, never altered his determined adherence to this course.

Genet was instructed not to demand that the United States should become parties in the war; and a letter which he brought, addressed to the people, stated, that "their immense distance prevented their taking a concern in the glorious regeneration of Europe." Yet he brought with him secret instructions to form, if possible, a national agreement to guarantee the sovereignty of the people, and punish those powers which still kept up an exclusive commercial and colonial system. As this, however, could not be hoped from the timid and wavering conduct of the executive, it was to the people he was chiefly to look. He landed on the 8th of April, not in the Cheasapeake, but at the southern port of Charleston, and instead of proceeding to deliver his credentials, began to exercise sovereign functions, commissioning

and directing the equipment of privateers against the English trade, and authorizing the consul to hold courts for the condemnation of the prizes. He was encouraged by the enthusiastic applauses of the people, from among whom the crews of these vessels were easily completed. In such occupations, five weeks were spent before he arrived at Philadelphia. His entry there was triumphal; crowds lined his route, and on the following day addresses were presented from numerous societies, expressing the warmest attachment to the French republic.

Being introduced on the 18th at the statehouse, he met a much cooler reception. Washington, indeed, addressed him cordially, expressing strong attachment to his nation, but it was remarked made no mention of the revolution. Genet delivered his message, admitting the neutrality of the States, but strongly urging the immediate payment of the balance of about seventeen millions of francs still due to France, either in money or in convertible bonds or securities; offering, as an inducement, that the value should be taken in American merchandize. This application fell to be reported on by Hamilton, the man of all others least inclined to forward it. He observed that the government had paid their instalments regularly, and even somewhat in advance, but only by fresh loans, for which the present disturbed state of Europe was very unfavourable. Their credit being strained to the utmost, could not admit of throwing into circulation a new mass of notes or other securities. Jefferson, therefore, intimated the impossibility of granting the request. By this time complaints poured in from the English ambassador and other quarters respecting vessels of that nation captured by those fitted out under

Genet's commission. Washington again solemnly called for the opinions of his divided cabinet. All agreed that privateers could not be permitted to be equipped in the American ports; but the doubt was whether government should order the restoration of the ships actually taken. According to Jefferson, it was not responsible for acts done without its sanction, and might leave the question to be decided in the courts; but Hamilton more reasonably urged, that government was responsible for, and bound to redress wrongs done by its subjects to foreign powers. Washington, reserving this point, proceeded at once to intimate to the ambassador and instruct the governors, that this outfit of privateers could not be permitted. Afterwards, upon the opinion of the judges, the restoration of the prizes was ordered. The ambassador, in return, remonstrated on cases of British cruisers taking French goods out of American vessels, but was told that this was according to the old and established law of nations; Britain having never assented to the demand of the armed neutrality, that free bottoms should make free goods. Genet replied in the most insolent terms, such, indeed, as have scarcely a parallel in the annals of diplomacy. He derided the references to Vattel and to the old law of nations as altogether obsolete and misplaced in this age of renovation. They were not to lower themselves to the level of antiquated politics and diplomatic subtleties. It was not thus that the American people wished him to be treated. He could not suppose—he wished he could disbelieve—that such measures were conceived in the heart of George Washington, that celebrated hero of liberty. In fine, he said: “The French, too confiding, are punished for having believed that the

American nation had a flag,—had any regard for its laws,—any consciousness of its strength, or sentiment of its dignity.” He hinted in his letters, and was understood to declare openly in private, his intention of appealing from the government to the people, who continued strongly attached to him and to the French cause. A formidable opposition was organized against Washington’s administration, who were represented as a band of aristocrats attached to England, and leagued with that European confederacy, “transcendent in power, and unparalleled in iniquity, which threatened to subvert the liberties of the world.” The orders respecting the French cruisers were reluctantly and imperfectly obeyed; and they hesitated not in repeated instances to set sail in defiance of them.

Such conduct it was considered impossible any longer to endure. In August, it was determined by the unanimous opinion of the cabinet, that a letter should be written to Mr. Morris, at Paris, detailing the various acts by which Genet had set the government at defiance, and which amounted actually to an attempt to make himself co-sovereign of the country. It was impossible that two separate authorities could exist in one state. His recall was therefore solicited, and, if he persevered, it might become necessary to suspend his functions, even before a successor could arrive. This letter, being communicated to the ambassador, called forth a most extraordinary and violent reply. He denounced it as the work of aristocrats, friends of monarchy and of England, and consequently enemies to those principles which all good Frenchman had embraced with religious enthusiasm. Alarmed at the popularity reflected on him by the at-

tachment of the American people, they had united to calumniate him in the eyes of his fellow-citizens. They had excited the president to write this violent diatribe, and to demand his recall,—a step which might pass between despot and despot, but was here entirely misplaced. The American people were more outraged than himself; with them alone and their representatives the decision rested; the president, a mere executive officer, had no right to set aside treaties or to change their meaning. He intimated an intention to print the whole correspondence, that the American people, whose esteem was dearer to him than life, might judge if he were worthy of the paternal reception they had deigned to give him.

After this defiance, he proceeded with unabated activity in his former course. He had organized two expeditions, one from Carolina and Georgia against Florida, the other from Kentucky against New Orleans. The people of this last state, indignant at being still debarred from the navigation of the Mississippi, had ardently embraced the project, and collected a strong force to support it. Washington sent orders to the governor to stop the movements; but his answer was so lukewarm, and expressed so many doubts of his power, that it was judged necessary to order General Wayne to take a position on the Ohio, by which alone the expedition was prevented from descending. That from Georgia was also guarded against; and the French having granted the recall of Genet, his successor, Fauchet, arrived in February, 1794. They soon after requested, in return, the recall of Mr. Morris, whose place was supplied by Mr. Monroe, a Virginia senator, ardently attached to free institutions.

Washington's attention had already been turned to the relations of the Union with Great Britain, who still held the western posts, and with whom all the grounds of dispute continued unsettled. These alleged grievances rankled in the minds of the people, and were greatly strengthened by the attachment to France, and enmity to the coalition against her, now so widely diffused. The popular cry for war was shared by the representatives, and opposed by only a very narrow majority in the senate. Washington, on the contrary, highly deprecated a rupture with the mistress of the seas, and the entire destruction of commerce thence inevitable. He dreaded, moreover, the nation being thrown into the arms of France, and the communication of the tyrannical anarchy which desolated that country, and had too many partisans in America. He determined to brave the popular clamour, and make a great effort to restore peace. John Jay, the supreme judge, who had been much employed in diplomacy, was appointed envoy extraordinary. The house of representatives were so exasperated, that they carried, by a majority of twenty, a bill for suspending all commercial intercourse with Britain; and it was negatived in the senate only by the casting vote of the vice-president.

On the envoy's arrival, the court of London, involved in a great continental war, showed itself not indisposed to any reasonable terms for averting an additional enemy. The king gave Jay a very gracious reception, and Lord Grenville showed every disposition to a conciliatory discussion. On the complaints of illegal seizure, the courts were stated to be the proper quarter to seek redress; but the time for doing so would be prolonged. Before the

period fixed for the delivery of the western posts, the violations on the part of America had taken place, and were the sole ground of their being retained. A demand for the restoration of negroes could not be acceded to as they had come in by proclamation, trusting to British honour. After long discussion, and several written counter propositions, it was agreed that the western posts should be surrendered by the 1st of June, 1796; and that the United States government should compensate British creditors for losses sustained by impediments to the collection of debts. The amount was to be decided by commissioners, two on each side, with power to choose a fifth; and the sum of £600,000 was ultimately awarded. The same arrangement was to be made for deciding upon British illegal captures, and also upon the northern boundary line, which was already a subject of discussion. Jay had been instructed not to regard a commercial treaty as indispensable, but to attempt it, if he saw fair prospects of success. The dispositions of the cabinet were found so favourable, that with little difficulty one was arranged, by which the Americans were placed on the footing of the most favoured neutrals, and even allowed to trade with the West Indies in vessels not exceeding seventy tons. The two treaties were finally incorporated and signed on the 19th of November, 1794. Instructions had been given to obtain, if possible, some extension of the rights of neutrals, and relaxation of the laws respecting contraband of war; but upon this subject the English cabinet were found inflexible, and it was not seemingly introduced into any written proposal. There was even an article which appeared to imply that certain commodities, not usually contraband, might be

seized, though not confiscated, but the owners indemnified.

On the 7th of March, 1796, Washington received the treaty, and considering it on the whole as favourable as could reasonably be hoped for, he submitted it, on the 8th of June, to the senate. Considerable difference of opinion prevailed, and it was approved by the bare constitutional majority of two-thirds. The article respecting the West Indies was not sanctioned, on account of an engagement not to export cotton as being a produce of those Islands, while Mr. Jay was not aware, that in the United States themselves it was already rising into importance ; but this was not likely to be insisted on by Britain. After serious deliberation, therefore, the president determined to affix his signature. The contents, however, had already transpired, and had kindled among the popular party and the partisans of France the most violent indignation. They exclaimed that the interests of the nation were not only neglected, but sold ; that its honour was tarnished, and the long much-valued alliance with France completely renounced. Resolutions to this effect, beginning in Boston, spread through all the great cities, and thence over the Union. A number took a more sober view of the matter, but were nearly overborne by the general clamour. At the next meeting of congress, the subject came before the representatives, among whom a decided majority shared this sentiment ; but they were met by a serious constitutional question. According to the federalists, as soon as a treaty was ratified by the president and senate, it became the supreme law of the land ; the other house could not obstruct, but were bound to concur in its execution. The democrats

held this as an exorbitant power lodged in these parties, who might thus carry any measure they pleased, by merely inserting it in a foreign treaty. None, it was said, could be accounted final till consented to by the representatives, nor could they be called upon to aid in the execution of one which they disapproved. Their only step however was, on the motion of Mr. Livingston, to address the president for copies of Mr. Jay's instructions, and other documents connected with the negotiation; but Washington, in a long reply, declined this as both unconstitutional and inexpedient. This decision surprised the house, and was very ill received; yet ultimately the necessity of fulfilling the required provisions was carried by fifty-one to forty-eight.

The cloud of unpopularity which from these causes hung over the closing career of Washington, was very painful to him, yet it never seems to have shaken his determination to pursue that line which appeared to him right. He says, in his plain way, "there is but one straight course in those things, and that is, to seek truth and pursue it steadily." In fact he saw, even in his lifetime, this gloom dispersed; and American writers generally allow that on no occasion did he render to his country more signal services. Never, perhaps, was the benefit more conspicuous, of the duration given to the tenure both of the senate and the executive, since elections, made during the interval of Gallic frenzy, would almost certainly have precipitated the nation into a long and ruinous war.

The concluding years of his administration were also troubled by the resignation of the leading members of his cabinet. Indeed, there never perhaps had been one

composed in so peculiar a manner, of men holding the most opposite extremes of political opinion, and cherishing besides a personal antipathy. Jefferson employed, as translating clerk in his office, one Freneau, who edited a journal of which the president complained that there was not an act of his government which it did not fiercely attack. But the secretary, who generally concurred in its sentiments, would not interpose. He complains, indeed, but without sufficient reason, that he produced his opinions in the council only to see them suffer martyrdom. Washington, though much harassed by this position, was still willing to have the opposite opinions pleaded before him, and to decide on them as a judge. Though leaning strongly towards Hamilton, he was reluctant to be left under his influence without a check. He urged Jefferson to remain, and when, in December, 1793, the resignation was insisted on, he supplied his place by Randolph, who entertained similar sentiments.

In the beginning of 1795, Hamilton followed the example, partly from private motives, and partly, no doubt, from his increasing unpopularity. He was succeeded, on his own recommendation, by Wolcott.

In the beginning of 1796, the second term of Washington's presidency was to terminate; and notwithstanding the late popular clamours, it is believed that had he agreed to stand a third time, the choice would have been decided, and even again unanimous. His determination, however, to retire into private life, was now immovable. The two houses drew up addresses, strongly expressing their high estimation of his character, and of the conduct of his administration. That of the senate passed unanimously; but in the other house

Giles, the popular leader, concurring in the applause of his character, would not extend it to his system of government, or even express regret at his retirement. He was supported by only a few, and the address was carried by a large majority. Washington, at the same time, published an address to the people, exposing the principles on which their public conduct ought to be guided. It is written with great ability, and has ever since been regarded as almost a second constitutional charter. To adhere strongly to the Union, and shun the sectional distinctions of Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western—to avoid the extremes of party spirit—to venerate religion and morality as the main pillars of public welfare—to cultivate friendship with all nations, without a passionate attachment to any,—these are the leading objects of exhortation.

The only individual who could have united the two fiercely conflicting and nearly balanced parties being withdrawn, a furious conflict arose. The democrats put forward Jefferson, in spite of his professed reluctance, while the federalists, afraid to propose Hamilton, supported John Adams. After a severe struggle, the small majority of seventy-one to sixty-eight appeared in favour of the latter, the result of which, according to the curious arrangement of the constitution, was to make his opponent vice-president.

The attention of the new president was immediately called to the critical state of the national relations with France. When the directory agreed to the recall of Genet, and requested that of Morris, Washington, anxious to conciliate them, selected Monroe, an able man, and imbued with an enthusiastic admiration of the French

republic. The president's impartiality seems to have here carried him too far, making him choose a representative whose views so little harmonized with his own. Monroe's first despatches show him to have been one of those who ardently desired to identify the cause and interest of the two republics. The French government, being apprised of these sentiments, gave him the most distinguished reception: he was publicly presented to the convention, and in answer to their address of welcome expressed the strong sympathy and attachment felt by America towards France, saying: "Republics should draw near each other." Being warned from home that this language was not in accordance with his instructions, which had enjoined the strictest neutrality, he still defended himself, and continued the same course. It clearly transpires, that he had held communications tending to a co-operation of the two powers against Britain and Spain. Amid this intercourse, he was struck as by a thunderbolt with the intelligence of Jay's treaty with the former power; and the indignant disappointment then expressed by the French government would doubtless be faintly repelled by one who shared it. On learning, however, the doubts as to its ratification, his hopes revived; he represented to his government the triumphant position of France, her anxiety for a close alliance, and that there was no object which America might not in that case obtain through her aid. Washington, to whom these views were wholly foreign, disregarded them, and signed the treaty.

The rage felt on this occasion by the French government was doubtless aggravated by the opposite hopes with which they had been inspired. Fauchet, their am-

bassador, declared that they considered the States as having thus "knowingly and evidently sacrificed their connexions with the republic." Orders were issued for the capture of vessels carrying provisions to any British port, and extensive depredations were in consequence committed. Washington, clearly perceiving that no redress could be expected through the agency of the present ambassador, determined to send another, and chose Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, a known friend of liberty, and who had not appeared in any of the measures complained of by France. That government, however, considered the recall of Monroe as the climax of its wrongs; and when he and the new minister waited on La Croix with their letters of recall and credence, they were treated with marked coldness. Before parting, they were led to suppose that Pinckney would be acknowledged; but two days after, Monroe received a letter intimating that this could not take place till the French grievances were redressed. Pinckney complained in vain of not being allowed even to explain his mission; nay, he was refused letters of hospitality, without which, at that time, no stranger was permitted to remain in Paris, and was warned that his next accounts would probably be from the lieutenant-general of police. He determined, however, not to leave Paris without a written order; and the government seemed reluctant to go so far as either to issue one or throw him into prison. In this precarious position he remained several weeks, when, on intelligence being received of Napoleon's successes in Italy, the mandate to depart was sent, and he repaired to the Hague. Monroe, who had just before been somewhat coolly treated, now met

with the most marked attention; and in the parting address, deep regret at his recall was mingled with a direct appeal to the people of America against their government. The directory also sent a message to the council of five hundred, recommending that all vessels laden in whole or part with English goods should be declared lawful prizes.

When these tidings arrived in America, Adams, who had succeeded as president, called an extraordinary meeting of congress. In a message of 16th of May, 1797, he exposed, with indignant comments, the conduct of the French government, and recommended an augmentation both of the naval and military force; yet he intimated the design to make a fresh attempt at negotiation, for which purpose Marshall and Gerry were joined in a commission with Pinckney. They were comparatively well received by Talleyrand, now foreign minister, and though their character was not publicly acknowledged, they obtained cards of hospitality. He warned them that the directory were greatly exasperated at the president's speech, and a private agent from him, named in the despatches X, soon visited them, and expatiated strongly on this subject. He intimated, however, that there was one way by which this wrath might be softened, and the whole matter adjusted; this was by money. Provided a loan of £1,200,000 were made to the government, and a *douceur* of £50,000 paid to Talleyrand for his own use and that of the directory, he would guarantee that every thing should be well arranged. They replied, that they had brought no instructions to treat on such a subject, and could do nothing without reference to America. Being afterwards pressed to say simply yes or no, they

gave a decided negative. Yet X with two coadjutors, Y (Mr. Bellamy of Hamburg) and Z (M. Hauteval), continued to urge the point in every possible manner; and boasts were even made of the triumphant progress of the French arms, and the humiliating peace imposed on Austria. Venice had fallen; England would soon follow; and America might dread the same fate. The consent of their government might be necessary for the loan; but for the £50,000, their own powers were sufficient; there was a banker ready to honour their draft. They were asked if they had not been aware that at Paris nothing could be obtained without money; and having declared a total want of suspicion of this fact, were told that any American in the city could have informed them. When they expatiated on the claims of their country to good treatment, the agent showed extreme impatience, and at the first interval said: All this was very fine, but he did not come to listen to speeches; it was yes or no—the £50,000. “Gentlemen,” said he at another time, “you do not come to the point; it is money—you must offer money.” Although Talleyrand did not personally treat, they met these agents at his house, where the discussions were partly carried on. They at length drew up a lengthened statement of their claims and grievances, intimating, that unless they were attended to, there could be no object in their remaining longer. Marshall and Pinckney were welcomed and even urged to depart; but Gerry, by threats of immediate war, was induced to remain; a concession of which his government disapproved. On the 18th of January, 1798, a law was passed subjecting to capture

every vessel which should contain any article of British fabric or produce.

The report of these transactions, when conveyed to America, kindled a feeling of unanimous and indignant resistance. The French party, which had appeared almost dominant, was suddenly reduced to a small minority. Those who attempted to argue that it would be cheaper to submit than to resist, were considered as betraying the honour of their country. "Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute!" was the general cry. The envoys made a kind of triumphal entry into Philadelphia; and Jefferson complains, that from being nearly in the front of popular favour, he was thrown far into the background. Congress readily authorized an augmentation both of the naval and military force, and to defray the expense, a considerable amount even of internal taxes, hitherto so odious, including one on land, was imposed. Washington consented to come forth from his retirement, and assume the command of the army, in which he appointed Hamilton his second. Hostilities were even commenced by sea. Commodore Truxton, with the frigate *Constellation*, of thirty-eight guns, captured the French *L'Insurgente* of forty. He had also obliged another of fifty guns to strike her colours; but she escaped during the night.

The French government do not seem to have ever seriously intended war, but only hoped by the threat to make America yield to their terms. Finding her immovable, and being ashamed of the exposures made by the negotiators, Talleyrand now disavowed his agents, and expressed to Gerry the strongest wish for peace, without any demand of loans or pecuniary terms. Even when

that minister had been recalled, he sent after him to Havre a new decree, professedly mitigating those formerly complained of, though it did not contain any important provision. He took the stronger step of communicating through Pichon, ambassador at the Hague, to Mr. Murray, American resident there, his wish for peace, which he pretended even having always done every thing in his power to promote. Adams, on receiving these overtures, did not certainly display that anti-gallican spirit so strongly alleged by the opposite party. He immediately prepared a new commission, and to give it the greater weight, solicited the venerable Patrick Henry, who had been lately governor of Virginia, to place himself at its head. As he declined on account of age, Oliver Ellsworth, chief-justice, was substituted, and was combined with Mr. Murray. A pledge was only required, that the embassy should be treated according to the usage of civilized nations; and this was promptly accorded. On their arrival at Paris, a complete revolution had taken place; Napoleon, returning from Egypt, had grasped, with an iron hand, the reins of power. He had been in no degree mixed up with the late transactions, and seems to have been desirous, at least in the first instance, to make his administration proceed smoothly. Every facility was therefore given to the negotiation, which, on the 31st of July, 1801, ended in a satisfactory treaty. The injurious decrees were repealed, and a liberal compensation stipulated for the depredations committed under them.

Before this satisfactory result, Washington was no more. Though suffering under some infirmities, he had enjoyed general good health till the 13th of December,

1799, when, in consequence of severe exposure to cold, he was seized with an inflammation of the windpipe. On the 14th, it terminated in death, which he met with exemplary calmness and fortitude. When the tidings were conveyed to congress, then sitting, a deep and general mourning ensued, and all party feelings were, for the moment, hushed. The assembly at once broke up; an imposing funeral procession was arranged, and numerous attended. Many orations in honour of his memory were pronounced there and in different parts of the Union. It was even decreed that a marble monument should be erected in the capital, and his body deposited under it; but through party spirit and extreme economy, this was never carried into execution, and his remains still repose at Mount Vernon.

During the first strong impression produced by the outrages on the part of France, Adams and his ministry had carried all before them. But when the cloud of war, which had seemingly impended, was dispersed, and it appeared even probable that she had never intended such a measure, a great reaction took place. Her votaries derided what they termed the X Y Z negotiation, representing, though seemingly without reason, these agents as having acted without any authority. But the severest trial was when the new taxes, the necessity for which was no longer felt, came to be levied. They encountered general discontent, and in some cases open resistance. Amid the first excitement, no difficulty had been found in inducing congress to pass an alien act, with very stringent provisions; also another, imposing restrictions upon the press; but these measures, being quite new,

and foreign to the national habits and ideas, soon became odious.

Under these influences, a new presidential election having come on in 1801, it soon appeared that the democratic interest was in the ascendant. Jefferson, its head, being again opposed by Adams, obtained a majority of seventy-three to sixty-five; yet his success was checkered by a singular incident. Aaron Burr, a bustling adventurer of doubtful character, had made himself generally acceptable to the democrats, who voted for him in the view that he might become vice-president. The votes happened to be exactly equal; in which case the constitution had provided that the house of representatives should decide. Here, however, the federals, viewing Jefferson as their arch-enemy, threw themselves into the interest of Burr, and produced there too an exact equality. No remedy had been provided for this double contingency; and the machine of government seemed to have run down. The votes were taken again and again, but always with the same result. A proposition was made and received with some favour, that the house itself should appoint a provisional government. This the democrats most fiercely resisted, threatening a convention of the people, or even an insurrection. At length, after thirty-five equal ballotings, one individual went over, and placed Jefferson in the presidential chair.

This statesman was not unworthy of the eminence to which he had risen. He possessed a wider range of knowledge and information than Washington, whom he equalled in talent; yet he had not that greatness of character which raised the other so high above all his contemporaries; his mind moved in a lower sphere. He

was completely a partisan, not only adopting extreme political opinions, but viewing his opponents with severe personal bitterness. We find him collecting speeches that escaped them at table, and on other familiar occasions, thence inferring, probably without reason, a design to overthrow the constitution. Yet he did not himself propose any alterations upon the republican side, and professed an attachment to the federal branch almost as decided as that of Washington. His primary object was the reduction of the large military and naval establishment formed by his predecessor, and thus removing the additional taxes imposed by him. This was a popular measure, and afforded of course immediate relief; yet afterwards, in the hour of need, it appeared to have been carried to an extreme. He first introduced the practice, since adopted to a vast extent, of removing officers, even in subordinate situations, whose political opinions were adverse to those of the president. He professes to have taken this course with great reluctance, and mostly where the appointments had been made by Adams from political motives, and even after being aware that his own election was hopeless. Yet it is remarkable, that this stretch of a doubtful executive power has been made almost wholly by presidents professing principles of the highest democracy.

The new chief magistrate was soon involved in a transaction of very great importance. Intelligence was received that Napoleon had extorted from Spain the cession of Louisiana, granting in compensation the succession of the Duke of Parma, a Spanish prince, to the grand-duchy of Tuscany. That court had, however, yielded with much reluctance, and only from being overawed

by the superior power of France. The intelligence excited great alarm in the American cabinet. The possession of this territory by Spain, a weak and sluggish power, had been sufficiently harassing; what then might be expected on its transference to the most stirring and active nation in Europe. The first and very painful result was the withdrawal of the right of deposit hitherto granted at New Orleans. An attempt to resist was doubtful as to right, and still more so as to the means of execution. Jefferson, however, knowing the French government to be embarrassed as to funds, conceived the hope that, for a large sum, they might be induced to part with the territory; and viewing the object as of the deepest importance, he was disposed not to be sparing in the amount.

Livingston, Pinckney, and Monroe were appointed a commission for carrying on this delicate negotiation. On arriving at Paris, they found their republican profession in bad odour with Napoleon, who, having determined to establish absolute power, regarded them with dislike as demagogues and anarchists. They did not scruple to obviate this by declaring that they considered the present system the most desirable for France after her severe recent agitations. They found the acquisition of Louisiana disapproved in the political circles, yet a favourite object with the first consul himself. He looked to it as a great colonial possession, which might rival those of England; as a new Egypt,—a place of reward for meritorious officers, and of exile for those he suspected. Mr. King, the ambassador to England, endeavoured to stir that court against it; but though dissatisfaction was expressed, no right was there felt to interfere. An ex-

pedition of five thousand to seven thousand men was prepared, and Bernadotte appointed to command it. As, however, the first consul began to contemplate hostile relations with Britain, his mind opened to the American proposals. He could not hope to maintain this transatlantic possession against her superior navy; while a large sum of money would be extremely convenient. King, indeed, was warned by Mr. Addington that the British government would, in that event, take possession of the country. This was a new ground of alarm; but he gave assurance that they sought only to keep it from France, and would be quite satisfied with its acquisition by the United States. As hostilities became certain, Napoleon began seriously to negotiate on the subject. The treaty had been opened only with respect to New Orleans, and the territory west of the Mississippi; but he intimated that the eastern must also be included, which indeed by itself could be of little value to him. This proposal being unexpected, the envoys were unprovided with any instructions; yet rightly appreciating the great advantages of possessing both banks, they readily consented,—a conduct highly approved by the president. After a good deal of discussion, the price was fixed at 60,000,000 fr. (£2,500,000), and the States were besides to pay 20,000,000 fr. (£800,000) of indemnity stipulated to its subjects for injurious captures; making in all £3,300,000. The sum, though considerable, bore little proportion to the vast advantages which have since been reaped from the acquisition.

Jefferson, although gratified by this arrangement, felt a good deal embarrassed in laying it before congress. No power to conclude such a treaty was conveyed by

the constitution, and he was one who specially deprecated the general government going a step beyond its assigned functions. Congress, however, with the exception of a small minority, showed too much satisfaction at the event to be at all disposed to criticise its legality. Spain only, who still held possession of the country, and had certainly been treated with very little ceremony, made a strong remonstrance, that she had ceded it under the engagement of its never being alienated, and that the terms even had not been strictly fulfilled. She gave in afterwards a solemn protest to the same effect. The American government turned a deaf ear to such representations, and even prepared to assert the claim by arms. Napoleon, on hearing of this dispute, intimated, that unless the Spanish government yielded, he would join America in compulsory measures. This was enough for that court, who, on the 10th of February, 1804, intimated, through her minister Don Pedro Cevallos, that her opposition was withdrawn.

Public attention was now called to another subject, which had long caused uneasiness and irritation. The piratical states of Barbary, whose career had hitherto encountered no serious check, had been committing extensive depredations on American commerce. They had even intimated an intention not to discontinue them without a tribute, to which the nation was little inclined. As Tripoli had been particularly active, Commodore Preble, in 1803, was sent against it with a fleet of seven sail. On his arrival, Captain Bainbridge, with the frigate *Philadelphia*, was employed to reconnoitre the harbour; but proceeding too far, his vessel grounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy. He and his crew

were made prisoners, and treated with the usual barbarity.

The expedition was thus at a full stand, when Captain Eaton, consul at Tunis, intimated that the throne of Tripoli was disputed by Hamet Caramalli, a brother of the bashaw, who had found refuge and been well received in Egypt. He proposed and was permitted to join this prince, commanding the co-operation of the fleet. Eaton soon obtained Hamet's concurrence, and, early in 1805, was invested with the command of a body of troops which the latter had succeeded in raising. He marched across the desert of Marmorica, summoned the frontier fortress of Derne, and, though the commander made the defying reply, "My head or yours," overpowered him after a few hours of desperate fighting. On the 8th of May, the reigning bashaw came up with a strong force, and attempted to recover the place, but was repulsed; and on the 10th of June, he sustained another defeat. Immediately after, the American fleet was reinforced by the frigate *Constitution*. While affairs thus wore a triumphant aspect, and the capital was in alarm of immediate attack, Colonel Lear, the consul, thought it most prudent to listen to overtures from the enemy and conclude a peace. It comprehended the delivery of the prisoners on both sides; there being a balance of two hundred in favour of the bashaw, for which sixty thousand dollars were to be paid. All co-operation was to be withdrawn from Hamet, in whose favour it was only stipulated that his wife and children should be released. That prince made loud complaints, under which Jefferson evidently felt considerable uneasiness. He urged, indeed, that no pledge had been given for his restoration

to power; and that his force, though so far successful, was not adequate to that achievement. Concerted movements may take place against a common enemy, without any mutual guarantee of each other's objects; yet, where both have effectively co-operated, each seemingly may claim a share of the advantage; and that of Hamet on the present occasion appears exceedingly slender.

In the end of 1804, Jefferson's first term of office expired. His conduct having been altogether approved, and the democratic spirit being still predominant, he was re-elected by a hundred and sixty-two votes out of a hundred and seventy-six. Burr, who had disgusted the ruling party by his conduct at the last election, was thrown out, and Clinton, of New York, a democrat so decided that he had even opposed the formation of the Union, was elected in his place.

Burr, disappointed in this quarter, sought compensation by standing candidate for the government of New York. He was supported by a large body of the federals; but Hamilton, a man of high and honourable mind, despising him as a reckless adventurer, opposed and defeated his election. The disappointed candidate, taking advantage of some violent language said to have been used by his opponent, sent him a challenge. The Americans, while rejecting the feudality of Europe, have retained in full action this, its barbarous remnant. The parties met, and at the first fire Hamilton fell. No event ever excited a more general feeling of regret throughout the States, even in the party most adverse to him, his high bearing, splendid talents, and political consistency, commanded general respect.

Burr, however, restlessly sought some means of attaining distinction and power. In September and October, 1806, Jefferson learned that mysterious operations were proceeding along the Ohio; boats preparing, stores of provisions collecting, and a number of suspicious characters in movement. A confidential agent sent to the spot, warned the president that Burr was the prime mover; and General Wilkinson, who commanded near New Orleans, intimated that propositions of a daring and dangerous import had been transmitted to him by that personage. The ostensible pretext was, the settlement of a tract of country said to have been purchased on the Washita, a tributary of the Mississippi: but the various preparations, the engagement for six months only, the provision of muskets and bayonets, pointed to something altogether distinct. It was either the formation of the western territory into a separate government, or an expedition against Mexico, sought to be justified by a boundary difference that had arisen with Spain, whose troops had actually crossed the Sabine. The former project, if entertained, was given up, no encouragement being found in the disposition of the people; and Burr's views were then confined to the seizure of New Orleans, and collecting there as large a force as possible for his ulterior design. His partisans abstained from all violence, and made their designs known only by mysterious conversations; so that, on being apprehended and brought to trial in Kentucky, he obtained a verdict of acquittal. The governor of Ohio, however, seized a quantity of boats and stores; and strict watch was kept along the whole line. Burr was only able, on the 25th of December, to assemble at the mouth of the Cumberland river

from sixty to a hundred men, with whom he sailed down the Mississippi. General Wilkinson had been instructed to settle the Spanish difference as quickly as possible, and direct all his attention to securing New Orleans, and suppressing this enterprise. Burr, therefore, finding no support in the country, was unable to resist the force prepared against him; his followers dispersed, and he himself, endeavouring to escape, was arrested on his way to Mobile. He was tried on a charge of treason; but the chief-justice was of opinion that, though Blennerhassett, his coadjutor, had openly announced the project of attempting the separation of the States, there was no sufficient proof that Burr himself contemplated more than the Mexican expedition, which amounted only to the levying of war against a power with whom the country was at peace. He was thus acquitted of the main charge; yet Jefferson expressed himself much dissatisfied with the sentence, declaring his conviction of Burr's guilt in every particular. The acquittal appeared to him to have been prompted by that ultra-federal spirit with which he always charged the supreme court. Burr went to Europe, and never again appeared on the political theatre of the States.

CHAPTER XIV.

ORIGIN AND EVENTS OF THE SECOND WAR WITH BRITAIN.

ABOUT this time arose discussions that led to a long series of troubles. The contest which had arisen between France and England spread over the continent, and was attended, on the part of Napoleon, with such signal triumphs, as rendered him virtually its master. But, while all Europe bent beneath his sway, he was goaded to madness by seeing Britain stand erect and defying, while not a vessel could leave one of his own ports without almost a certainty of capture. A struggle now ensued, very different from that hitherto waged between European kingdoms, when some exterior provinces or appendages only were disputed. It was a question of empire on one side and existence on the other; and each party thought itself entitled to employ extreme means, and to pass the limits hitherto sanctioned by the practice and public law of Europe. Napoleon, viewing his mighty rival as resting solely upon commerce, imagined, that if he could exclude her merchandize entirely from the continent, the root of her power would wither, and she would fall an easy victim. His adversary, on the other hand, conceived the hope, that by depriving the countries under his sway of all the benefits of trade, a spirit of discontent would be roused that might prove fatal to his dominion. Both parties inflicted on themselves and on

each other severe sufferings; and the hopes of both proved finally abortive. Britain remained mistress of the seas, and Europe lay still at the feet of Napoleon. Yet each persevered, in the hope that the desired result was in silent operation, and that by a continuance of effective means it might at last arrive.

America had at first derived extraordinary advantages from this warlike attitude of Europe. The most active, and finally almost the only maritime neutral power, she had reaped a rich harvest by engaging in the commerce between the ports of the belligerent states, and kept an extensive shipping employed in this carrying trade. But a severe reverse was felt under these new measures, when her vessels could not appear in any of the seas of Europe without being liable to capture by one nation or the other. The proclamations of both were equally rigorous; but Britain possessed so much more ample means of carrying hers into execution, that they were the most severely felt. Another grievance was endured from the same quarter. The great extension of the American shipping interest offered ample employment to British seamen, who, by entering this service, obtained higher wages, and escaped the hardship of serving, by impressment, in ships of war. Britain therefore claimed and exercised the right of searching American vessels for these deserters, and, wherever grounds of suspicion appeared, of calling upon them for proofs of American origin. She contended that the desertion, if unchecked, would proceed on so vast a scale, that the navy, her grand means of defence, would be certainly crippled. The other party complained, that not only was the national flag thus violated, but American citizens were,

under this pretext, seized and carried to distant ports, where they could not procure proofs of their origin, and those actually produced were not duly regarded. In a report to congress, it is stated that the number impressed since the beginning of the war had been four thousand two hundred and twenty-eight, of whom nine hundred and thirty-six had been discharged. It was alleged, that by far the greater proportion of these were native Americans, and that in six hundred and ninety-seven recent cases, only twenty-three were British and one hundred and five doubtful.

The first encroachment on the liberty of commerce was directed against the transportation of the produce of the French West Indies to the mother country. It was maintained by Britain, that the Americans, having been formerly excluded from this employment, and admitted to it only in consequence of the war, could not complain of losing a branch which they had never enjoyed; while they urged that the war had conferred on Britain no new right to interpose. They entertained hopes of gaining their object in consequence of Mr. Fox's accession to power in 1806. That statesman even told Monroe, then ambassador, that he had ordered the practice of impressment to be suspended, but was not prepared to yield up the right. Jefferson, encouraged by this intelligence, added Pinckney to the embassy, with the view of concluding a final arrangement. On his arrival, however, Fox had been seized with that illness which terminated in his death. The commission were received by Lord Grenville, to whom the subject was new, and who was pressed by the duties of other departments. Soon, however, Lords Holland and Auckland being named com-

missioners to carry on the negotiation, expressed the most conciliatory disposition, but stated, that as all the law officers were in favour of the right of impressment, it could not be formally conceded, but would be exercised with the greatest caution. It had been so in fact for some time, and no fresh ground of complaint had arisen; an informal assurance was even given that the same lenient course would still be pursued. The Americans had been instructed to make this point a *sine qua non*; but finding more than the above unattainable, while terms that appeared satisfactory could be secured on other subjects, they at length agreed to sign the treaty. On its being transmitted to Jefferson, however, he at once determined on refusing to ratify it, without even the usual course of submitting it to the senate. This, he conceived, when his own mind was completely made up, would have been an empty form. He therefore sent it back, with instructions that an attempt should be made to obtain at least a partial abolition, and also stating modifications which he considered necessary in several of the other articles. He continued the same negotiators, and did every thing in his power to soothe Monroe, hitherto his favourite diplomatist, who could not but feel deeply wounded on this occasion.

The estrangement caused by this step was aggravated by a tragical incident. Admiral Berkeley, then commanding on the coast, having learned that several men belonging to his squadron were on board the United States frigate Chesapeake, gave directions for their seizure by Captain Humphreys, of the Leopard. That officer came up to the American vessel soon after it had sailed from Hampton Roads, Virginia, and sent a boat's

crew on board, asking permission to search for the British deserters; Barron, the commander, replied, that he could not allow his men to be mustered by any other than himself. The boat returned, when a fire was opened from the *Leopard*, which the American, being totally unprepared for, was unable to return. In the course of twenty or thirty minutes, he endeavoured to fit his vessel for action, but not having succeeded, and three of his men being killed and eighteen wounded, he struck. To a British officer, who then came on board, he offered his vessel as a prize; but the other disclaimed any such view, and delivered a letter from Humphreys, deploring a loss which might have been avoided by amicable adjustment. He then took out four men, three of whom were alleged to be Americans, and departed. Berkeley had committed a gross error in authorizing such a proceeding against a government armed vessel, respecting which the right of search had never been claimed. A loud and general clamour, in which all parties joined, was raised throughout the country; and Jefferson issued a proclamation, excluding British ships of war from all the waters of the United States.

When Monroe and Pinckney received these difficult matters to adjust, a change, deemed unfavourable, had taken place in the British cabinet. The whig ministry had been displaced in favour of the opposite party, supposed to be more decided, both in hostility to France, and in the assertion of British rights. Mr. Canning, however, the new foreign minister, treated them with courtesy, when they presented the treaty unratified, and with the proposed alterations. After some consideration, he intimated, that since the rejection of a solemn deed signed

by the plenipotentiaries of the States, a new negotiation on the same basis was inadmissible. In adjusting a treaty, one party is supposed to have made concessions in order to obtain similar ones from the other ; and when the first were withdrawn, the last could be no longer binding. It was agreed, however, that the relations of the two powers might remain for the present in a friendly, though informal position. In regard to the Chesapeake, he complained that a violent measure of retaliation should have been adopted before any attempt to seek redress by negotiation. He had no hesitation in disavowing the action of Admiral Berkeley, and was ready to treat for ample compensation. The Americans, however, had been instructed to decline entering on the subject, unless in combination with a general arrangement for relieving their vessels from impressment. This Mr. Canning considered as a question standing on entirely different ground, which could by no means be mixed up with the other ; and since they could not treat it separately, a special mission would be sent out on the subject. Mr. Rose was therefore despatched, and, on his arrival at Washington, intimated to Madison that he was ready to offer compensation, which would be ample, and, he trusted, satisfactory. He was informed, however, that the subject could not be entertained, unless in combination with a security against future impressment. Rose replied that he had no authority to treat on any topic but that of the Chesapeake ; and this being refused, his mission terminated. This repeated rejection of a compensation offered and pressed could not but expose the president to the suspicion of unwillingness to lose hold of the excitement which the event had created. He

seems to have felt that this manœuvre could not be long continued, and some time after wrote through Madison to Pinckney, that the offer, if again urged, might be accepted.

Affairs in Europe, meantime, were assuming a still more serious aspect. Napoleon, after his victory at Jena, and entry into Berlin, which placed him in a most triumphant position on the continent, became still more eager to crush the only power that still defied him. In November, 1806, he issued a decree, declaring the British isles in a state of blockade; this was retaliated by an order in council on the 2d of January, 1807, prohibiting the trade by neutrals from any port under his sway to another. On the 11th of November, a fresh order declared, that all these countries were to be considered in a state of blockade; but some mitigations were afterwards admitted in regard to vessels willing to trade through the British ports, after paying a certain duty. These terms, however, were repelled by America, as a levying of tribute, and as altogether inconsistent with the independence of her flag. Enraged at this further measure, Napoleon, on the 17th of December, 1807, issued at Milan another decree, subjecting to confiscation every vessel which should have submitted to the conditions imposed by England.

America was thus placed certainly in a hard situation, being unable to send out a vessel to sea, which was not liable to capture by either belligerent. She might have been fully justified in imposing severe restrictions on the shipping and commerce of the offending parties: but instead of this, Jefferson proposed and was supported by his party in carrying the measure of an embargo, to be

laid for an indefinite period on all vessels within the ports of America. This step was marked by that violent and extreme disposition to which democratic bodies are liable. It is singular, as being carried by the interior and agricultural states against the most violent opposition from the northern and commercial ones, though the latter were almost the exclusive sufferers. They were told, indeed, that the object was to procure for them redress, and that their vessels, thus detained in port, would be saved from capture and confiscation. They thought, however, that they might have been consulted as to their own interests, and not have had a remedy imposed which was deemed by them ten times worse than the evil; a few occasional losses forming a very small mischief compared to the total extinction of a great and flourishing commerce.

In 1809, the second term of Mr. Jefferson's office expired, and he rejected all propositions for being put a third time in nomination. The federalists, including now nearly the whole mercantile interest, proposed Pinckney, but were outvoted by a large majority. Madison being elected president, and Clinton again vice-president. The former had been distinguished as a federal leader, having taken an active part in framing the constitution, and overcoming the resistance encountered by it in Virginia. Afterwards, he was active in defeating the amendments proposed by that and other states. When, however, a modified opposition was formed, seeking to limit its interpretation, and generally supporting the democratic interest, he decidedly espoused that side, and became identified with Jefferson, its head, under whom he long acted as secretary. His government was thus a

virtual continuation of the former, though his party feelings, and in particular his enmity to Britain, were generally supposed to be less violent.

The first step certainly bore somewhat of this appearance. The absurd embargo law had produced ever increasing irritation, and even resistance; and it evidently could continue to be enforced only by arms. It was in consequence exchanged for one of doubtless a less irrational nature, which merely prescribed non-intercourse with both of the two offending governments; and the president was empowered immediately to remove it with regard to either of them which should repeal its hostile decrees.

Soon after a prospect seemed to open of a favourable termination. Mr. Erskine, the English minister, received a paper, intimating that his cabinet were ready to repeal the orders in council, on the understanding that the non-intercourse act should continue in operation against France, and on condition that the British navy should be allowed to enforce it, without which it would be nugatory; also that America should abstain from any commerce with the French colonies not enjoyed by her during peace. He was authorized to show these written propositions to the American minister; but unaccountably, instead of doing so, he announced simply, and without any condition, the intention of his court to repeal the orders. Madison certainly met the announcement very promptly, stating it to the house of representatives, and issuing a proclamation for the renewal of intercourse in June, 1809. He was surprised, however, to receive a despatch from Mr. Pinckney, mentioning the two annexed conditions; when Mr. Erskine, being asked for

an explanation, showed his original instructions, actually containing these terms, which certainly changed greatly the character of the offer, and were declared altogether inadmissible. The British cabinet, then, of course, disavowed their minister's original communication, and recalled him. In this state of affairs, Mr. Jackson, sent out from Britain on a special mission, was received with great coldness, and all communication refused, except by writing. The ambassador was offended by this treatment, and wrote in a tone not very conciliatory. In the course of communication, he referred to the American government as having seen Mr. Erskine's instructions, apparently with the view of showing that blame did not rest with the British cabinet. Madison, understanding the assertion to be, that he had seen them previous to revoking the non-intercourse act, and had thus acted very inconsistently, denied the statement. Jackson, doubtless under the same misunderstanding, repeated it, referring even to their own admission. The other treated this as giving him the lie, and refused to hold any further intercourse with the British negotiator.

The president, however, authorized Mr. Pinckney to continue the negotiation, even adding Monroe to the embassy, who does not, however, appear to have arrived. The complaints against Mr. Jackson were by no means fully admitted by Marquis Wellesley, now foreign minister, who observed that he had disavowed any offensive intention; but as a mark of friendly disposition, another plenipotentiary would be sent. Meantime, the non-intercourse law having expired in May, 1810, the American government gave notice, that if either party would repeal its obnoxious decrees, this measure would be re-

newed against the other. Hopes even of war seem to have been held out. Napoleon, determining to avail himself of this prospect of annoying his adversary, issued in August a proclamation, revoking the decrees from the 1st of November following, under the full understanding that Britain was to withdraw her orders in council, or America make her rights be respected. Pinckney immediately called upon Marquis Wellesley to meet this overture. The latter, while declaring the high satisfaction with which he would relinquish the orders in the event of actual repeal, could not do it upon this sort of conditional one, which, requiring that of Britain to be antecedent, was not, therefore, in real operation. Though a new plenipotentiary to America was promised, none was appointed; but the delay was explained as solely owing to the difficulty of finding one who would possess sufficient weight, and be acceptable to the American government. Pinckney, however, on this ground, in the beginning of 1811, withdrew, leaving Mr. Russell to act as charge d'affairs.

Soon after, however, Mr. Foster came out as plenipotentiary. He again brought offers of compensation for the Chesapeake, which being found ample, were at length accepted. Respecting the orders in council, very lengthy discussions ensued. Notwithstanding the alleged revocation, American vessels continued to be seized under the decrees; but it was answered, that on complaint and remonstrance, they had been mostly liberated. Reference was made by Foster to French proclamations, in which the decrees were declared and gloried in as still in full force. This, the Americans said, was only in regard to European neutrals, and when they were satisfied as to

themselves, it was unreasonable to demand that they should compel France to follow a certain course towards other nations, or to receive British goods into her own dominions. Mr. Foster denied any idea of such compulsion; yet they seem to have extorted from him the admission, that a general revocation of the decrees must precede the repeal of the British orders.

In these circumstances, the American government determined upon making preparations for war; being assured of support from a majority in congress. Mr. Madison, in his message of 5th of November, 1811, enumerated the wrongs sustained from Britain, and proposed an augmentation of taxes, and of the naval and military force. Authority was given to enlarge the army to thirty-five thousand men, to increase the navy, to raise eleven million dollars, by doubling the duties of customs, and even imposing internal duties, hitherto so much deprecated. In February, 1812, the public were excited by the publication of the correspondence of a Mr. Henry, represented as having three years before attempted to stir up disaffection in the northern states. His instructions, it appears, were merely to ascertain the state of public feeling, and if any individual wished to open a communication with the British government, to offer himself as a medium. He was employed altogether by General Craig, governor of Canada, and his services were not recognized in Britain; upon which he came and gave the information to the adverse power.

In June, 1812, the cabinet, with the concurrence of congress, determined to declare war against Britain, in which they were supported by the democratic majority, always hostile to England. It happened somewhat

singularly, when the war had been declared on the 18th of June, that on the 23d the orders in council on which it was founded were repealed in Britain, so far as regarded America. Admiral Warren, commanding on the station, and Sir George Prevost, governor of Canada, were therefore instructed to propose an armistice, with a view to the restoration of peace. Madison, however, rejected the overture, unless coupled with a stipulation that the right of search should also be renounced. He caused a proposal to the same effect to be made by Mr. Russel, at London. This was a point, however, on which Britain had shown such extreme determination, that he could never hope to have it yielded as preliminary to a mere armistice. The overture, therefore, could only serve to make a faint show of a pacific disposition, while he was really determined upon war.

The Americans were very slenderly prepared for that great contest into which they had so precipitately plunged. The principle of the Jefferson administration had been rigid economy, the smallest possible standing force, and an almost entire dependence upon the militia. Yet every effort to give to that body an organized and efficient character had proved abortive. The army in 1808 was reduced to three thousand, and though authority had since been given to raise it to thirty-five thousand, the nation was so averse to the bondage of a military engagement, that the recruiting went on very slowly. At the declaration of war, it amounted only to eleven thousand eight hundred, of whom five thousand were employed in garrisoning posts. The navy, which in 1789, had consisted of sixteen frigates and seventeen

smaller vessels, was reduced to seven of the former and eight of the latter. The exploits of this flotilla proved highly creditable; but it could not attempt to keep the seas against even a portion of the British navy.

One of the frigates, the *Constitution* commanded by Commodore Hull, had a narrow escape from capture by a British squadron, under circumstances which rendered the exploit celebrated in naval history. The operations commenced by General Hull, an old officer of the Revolution, were intended to overrun Upper Canada. Having assembled at Detroit two thousand five hundred men, of whom five hundred were regulars, he crossed the river, and published a boastful proclamation, announcing the speedy and entire subjugation of the country. But Captain Roberts had meantime attacked and carried the fort of Michillimakinac, the key of the north-west Indian territory, whose tribes, headed by Tecumseh, one of their bravest chieftains, poured down in large bodies, to attack their old enemy. General Brock hastened to the spot with a detachment of regulars; while the Canadian militia mustered in force. Hull, after threatening for some time Fort Malden, retreated across the river, and being followed by Brock, shut himself up in Detroit. There he seems to have been seized with panic, and capitulated, surrendering his garrison, besides two detachments in the vicinity.

Another attempt was made on the Niagara frontier, where General Van Rensselaer had actually pushed across the river, and gained the heights of Queenstown. General Brock, having attacked with too small a force, was repulsed, and fell. The militia, however, on the opposite bank, struck with a panic, refused to cross and support

their countrymen, who nine hundred in number, being parted by General Sheaffe, were overpowered and obliged to surrender. General Smyth, who succeeded, made some boastful announcements and straggling attempts, but finally closed the campaign without any serious effort.

This series of disasters instead of the hoped-for triumph, was in some degree, and unexpectedly redeemed by maritime successes. A squadron, indeed, sent out immediately in hopes of intercepting the West India fleet, after coming into partial contact with it, could not effect the object. On the 19th of August, Captain Hull, with the States frigate *Constitution*, of forty-four guns came up with the *Guerriere*, commanded by Captain Dacres. carrying forty-nine guns. After half an hour of distant firing the vessels closed; and in about twenty minutes, the mizzen-mast of the *Guerriere* fell, and lay in such a position as to urge her towards her adversary. The Americans made, without success, an attempt to board; but their fire continued so heavy, that in an hour more, the main and mizzen masts of the *Guerriere* went over the side, and she lay on the water a complete wreck. She then unavoidably struck, when the victors, having removed the crew, immediately set her on fire. The commander treated his captives with honour and humanity. Dacres' loss had been severe, fifteen killed and sixty-three wounded; while the Americans had only seven killed and seven wounded. The vanquished captain, officers, and crew, were considered as having behaved with bravery.

On the 18th of October, near the Bermudas, two sloops, the *Wasp*, American, and *Frolic*, British, each carrying

about twenty guns, engaged in a most desperate conflict. The *Wasp* suffered in her rigging being shot away ; but her opponent, besides still heavier injuries, had the greater part of her crew killed and wounded ; and on being boarded, attempted no further resistance. The victor and prize, however, soon after fell into the hands of the *Poictiers*, a British seventy-four, and were carried into Bermuda. Still the affair was very creditable to Captain Jones, the American commander.

On the 25th of October, the ship *United States*, Captain Decatur, encountered the *Macedonian*, under Captain Carden. They were both large frigates. The action lasted about two hours, when the *Macedonian*, having nearly all her masts and rigging shot away, with thirty-six men killed and sixty-eight wounded, was obliged to strike. Decatur, on being presented with the vanquished commander's sword, refused it "from one who knew so well how to use it," and asked rather the friendly grasp of his hand. In fact, when tried in England, though a criticism was made on a commencing manœuvre, he was most honourably acquitted. The Americans had only five killed and seven wounded.

Before the year closed, they had to exult in another triumph. Their frigate, the *Constitution*, under Commodore Bainbridge, encountered the *Java*, Captain Lambert, carrying forty-six guns and three hundred and seventy-seven men. The British vessel was soon so much damaged, that no prospect of success appeared, unless from boarding ; and though sanguine hopes were raised from this movement, it was baffled by the fall, first of the fore and then of the main topmast. Captain Lambert, at the same time, was mortally wounded by a

ESCAPE OF THE CONSTITUTION FROM A BRITISH SQUADRON.





CAPTURE OF THE GUERRIERE.

rifle shot. Bainbridge then moved to a little distance to adjust his rigging, imagining, as he says, that the Java had struck ; but seeing her flag still flying, he again approached, and found her ready to renew the action. He gained, however, such a raking position, as rendered resistance hopeless, and compelled a surrender. He treated his prisoners honourably. The British lost sixty killed, and one hundred and two wounded, while the Americans had only nine killed and twenty-five wounded, among which last was the Captain himself. The Java was immediately burned.

This train of success was the more remarkable, as having been made in the face of the fullest displays of valour and hardihood by British seamen, and without any impeachment on the skill of their officers.

Towards the close of this year the contest of party, excited by the war, raged with augmented violence. The administration were reproached, not only for having commenced it without reason, but for having conducted it so inefficiently. The states of Massachusetts and Connecticut, the centre of the federal party, being ordered to furnish quotas of militia for the invasion of Canada, and the defence of the coast, declined to obey, under an alleged construction of the constitution allowing the state governments to determine when such a measure would be necessary. They obtained even an opinion of three of the supreme judges in their favour. The president strongly repelled this interpretation, urging, not without reason, that it made America in war no longer one nation ; but it was impossible, under the circumstances, to attempt any compulsory measures. At this time occurred the critical occasion of the expiration of

Madison's term of office; but he was re-elected by a large majority; and congress showed still a fixed determination to support the contest. Authority was given to increase the army still further if possible; and in the hope of giving an impulse to recruiting, an addition of twenty-five dollars was made to the bounty, and of two to the month's pay; yet it was still found impossible to raise more than seventeen hundred men a-month. The president was also allowed to raise a loan of sixteen million dollars, and to issue, five million of treasury notes.

Great exertions were now made in the west to retrieve the disgrace of Hull's expedition. The warlike border militia of Kentucky and Ohio assembled in considerable force, and injudiciously advanced in two detached corps, under Generals Harrison and Winchester. The latter arrived first in the vicinity of Detroit, and gained some advantage; but being surprised by General Proctor, with a force of British and Indians, he himself, and nearly his whole army were made prisoners. Harrison then fell back and intrenched himself at Fort Meigs, near the rapids of the Miami; when the opposite leader, with two thousand two hundred British and Indians, advanced to attack him, but was repulsed. The Americans, having then received a reinforcement of twelve hundred Kentuckians, under General Clay, assumed the offensive; but about a thousand having incautiously advanced in a straggling manner, were surprised by the Indians, and almost all either killed or taken prisoners. Proctor, finding himself still unable to storm the intrenchments, retreated; but the Americans were disabled for a considerable time from active movements.

They made also vigorous preparations to attack the eastern frontier of Upper Canada, having assembled there a force much superior to that of the British. A fleet, formed at Sackett's Harbour, afforded them for some time a command over the wide expanse of Lake Ontario. General Dearborn embarked two thousand men, sailed to the important town of York (now Toronto,) and carried it without resistance; but the explosion of a magazine caused the death of above one hundred men, including Colonel Pike, a highly promising young officer. The commander did not attempt to retain the place, but, before departing, burned the public buildings, and seized a quantity of stores.

A more solid impression seemed to be made on the Niagara frontier. Dearborn, having crossed the channel with a large force, obliged General St. Vincent to evacuate Fort St. George, and retreat to Burlington Heights, at the western extremity of Lake Ontario. He was pursued by four thousand men under Generals Chandler and Winder, who hoped by crushing him to gain possession of all the western provinces. Colonel Harvey, however, having undertaken a night attack with seven hundred men, succeeded in capturing both the American generals; and though he was obliged to retreat, the American army were so stunned by their loss, that they broke up and retired upon Niagara. Colonel Børstler was then sent forward with seven hundred men to attack a post at Beaver Dams; but being assailed at different points by parties of British and Indians, he imagined himself surrounded, and surrendered with his whole force.

Meantime a flotilla, formed at Kingston, under Sir

James Yeo, again gave to Britain the naval command of the lake. Sir George Prevost even made an attempt upon Sackett's Harbour; but not displaying, as was alleged, the requisite energy and boldness, and being intimidated by a courageous demonstration, he withdrew. Sir James Yeo, however, conveyed reinforcements to the Niagara territory, where the Americans ceased any further advance.

Their efforts were now concentrated in a grand movement against Montreal, defended only by a very limited force. Generals Hampton, with six thousand, and Wilkinson, with above eight thousand men, advanced in different directions, the one from Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, the other along the St. Lawrence. Hampton, in the end of October, came up to the British advanced guard, of a thousand men, on the river Chateaugay. Colonels Salaberry, and McDonnell posted and manœuvred their small corps so skilfully, that, imagining himself opposed by a large force, he gave up the undertaking for the season, and retreated upon Plattsburg. Meantime Wilkinson, having rendezvoused at the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario, embarked his force in boats, and began to descend the St. Lawrence, though Colonel Morrison, from Kingston, hovered along the banks, and even with inferior strength harassed his progress. General Brown landed with a considerable body, and after some time an obstinate engagement ensued, in which the English had the advantage. They could not, however, prevent their adversary from re-embarking and continuing the voyage; but soon after, intelligence being received of Hampton's retreat upon Plattsburg, Wilkinson, who had found the people decidedly hostile, con-

ceived it inexpedient to advance alone, and fell back upon the same point.

While these operations were in progress on the eastern frontier, events of a different complexion distinguished the war in the west. The defence of Fort Stephenson, by Colonel Croghan, deserves particular notice. Colonel Croghan had already distinguished himself in the siege of Fort Meigs. From this he was ordered to Fort Stephenson, twenty miles above the mouth of Sandusky River, with orders from General Harrison to destroy the stores and abandon the fort, if the enemy made his appearance. Learning that the enemy designed to attack him, he disobeyed his orders, and immortalized his fame. He laboured day and night to place the fort in a state of defence.

On the 1st of August General Proctor made his appearance before the fort. His troops consisted of five hundred regulars, and about seven hundred Indians, of the most ferocious kind.

There were but a hundred and thirty-three effective men in the garrison, and the works covered one acre of ground. The pickets were about ten feet high, surrounded by a ditch, with a block-house at each angle of the fort, one of which contained a six-pounder. This was the exact state of the post at the time the enemy appeared.

The first movement made by the enemy was to make such a disposition of his forces as to prevent the escape of the garrison, if they should be disposed to attempt it. He then sent Colonel Elliot with a flag, to demand the surrender of the fort. He was met by Ensign Shipp. The British officer observed that General Proctor had a

number of cannon, a large body of regular troops, and so many Indians, whom it was impossible to control, that if the fort was taken, as it must be, the whole of the garrison would be massacred. Shipp answered, that it was the determination of Major Croghan, his officers and men, to defend the garrison or be buried in it, and that they might do their best. Colonel Elliot addressed Mr. Shipp again: "You are a fine young man; I pity your situation; for God's sake surrender, and prevent the dreadful slaughter that must follow resistance." Shipp turned from him with indignation, and was immediately taken hold of by an Indian, who attempted to wrest his sword from him. Major Croghan, observing what passed, called to Shipp to come into the fort, which was instantly obeyed, and the action commenced. The firing began from the gun-boats in the rear, and was kept up during the night.

At an early hour the next morning, three six-pounders, which had been planted during the night within two hundred and fifty yards of the pickets, began to play upon the fort, but with little effect. About 4 P. M. all the enemy's guns were concentrated against the north-western angle of the fort, for the purpose of making a breach. To counteract the effect of the fire, Major Croghan caused that point to be strengthened by means of bags of flour, sand, and other materials, in such a manner that the picketing sustained little or no injury. But the enemy, supposing that their fire had sufficiently shattered the pickets, advanced, to the number of five hundred, to storm the place, at the same time making two feints on different points.

The column which advanced against the north-west

ern angle was so completely enveloped in smoke, as not to be discovered until it had approached within eighteen or twenty paces of the lines; but the men being all at their posts, and ready to receive it, commenced so heavy and galling a fire as to throw the column into confusion; but being quickly rallied by Lieutenant-Colonel Short, the leader of the column exclaimed, "Come on, my brave fellows, we will give these d——d Yankee rascals no quarters;" and immediately leaped into the ditch, followed by his troops; as soon as the ditch was entirely filled by the assailants, Major Croghan ordered the six-pounder, which had been masked in the block-house, to be fired. It had been loaded with a double charge of musket balls and slugs. The piece completely raked the ditch from end to end. The first fire levelled the one half in death; the second or third either killed or wounded every one, except eleven, who were covered by the dead bodies. At the same time, the fire of small arms was so incessant and destructive, that it was in vain the British officers exerted themselves to lead on the balance of the column; it retired in disorder, under a shower of shot, and sought safety in an adjoining wood. The loss of the enemy in killed was about a hundred and fifty, besides a considerable number of their allies. The Americans had but one killed and seven slightly wounded.

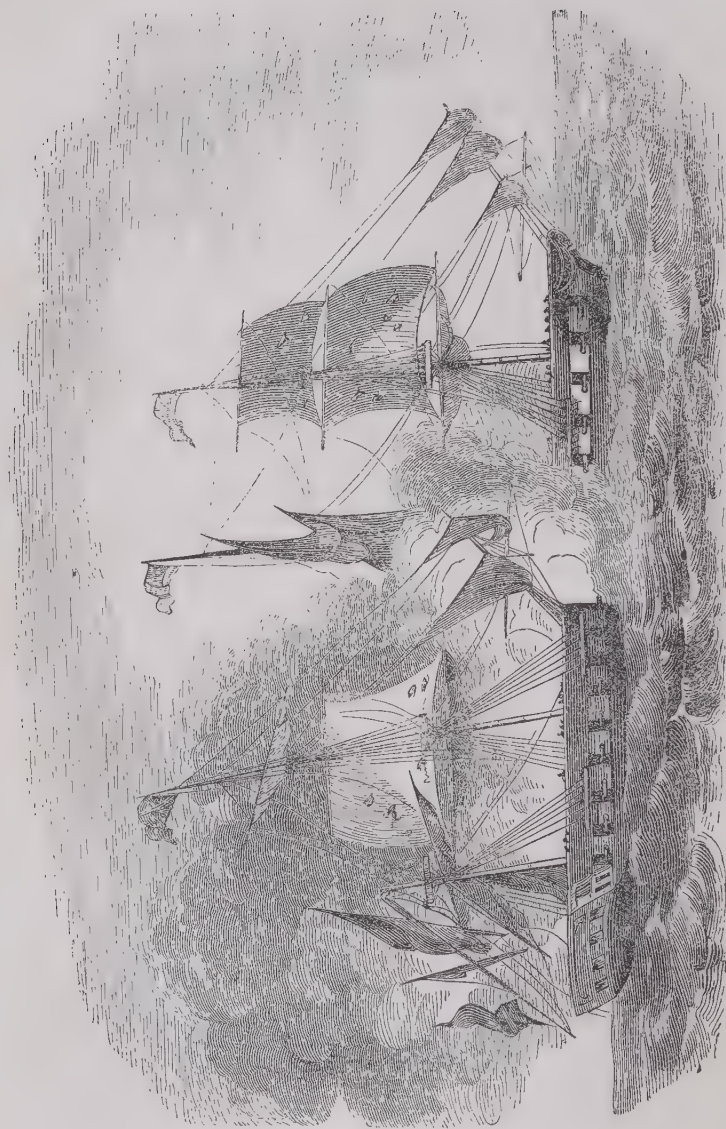
Early in the morning of the 3d, the enemy retreated down the river, after having abandoned considerable baggage.

We now return to Fort Meigs. General Harrison had there drawn large reinforcements from the bold races on the Kentucky border, while Proctor, having detached

troops to Lower Canada, had no adequate means to stop his advance. The British still commanded Lake Erie; but the Americans had with great activity equipped a squadron of nine vessels, two of twenty-five guns each. Their opponents, labouring under several disadvantages, and not perhaps exerting the same energy, found great difficulty in assembling an equal force, with which Captain Barclay engaged the hostile flotilla commanded by Commodore Perry. The conflict was one of singular obstinacy; the latter had his ship disabled, but in an open boat he reached another vessel, and then bore down afresh upon the British who were at last entirely defeated, and their whole squadron captured.

Harrison now no longer hesitated to proceed across the Detroit channel into Canada. He entered Amherstburg without resistance, Proctor having retreated up the Thames, and with thirteen hundred troops taken a position at the Moravian town, where, being flanked by the river on one side, and a wood on the other, he hoped to maintain his ground. The American general advanced, and on the 5th of October, began the attack. Finding the resistance obstinate, he employed the Kentucky mounted riflemen to gallop forward and charge the British centre; they threw it into confusion, and continued a destructive fire upon the flanks. Tecumseh, the bravest of the Indian chiefs, was slain in the heat of the contest, and his followers, no longer encouraged by the voice of their leader, fled from the field, leaving the English unsupported, who were at last completely defeated, with the loss of seventy killed and wounded, and six hundred prisoners.

To carry on the extended though abortive operations



ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE ENTERPRISE AND BOXER.

against Lower Canada, the Americans had reduced their force on the Niagara frontier. Hence the English general, Vincent, though ordered to retreat, pushed forward upon Newark, which was evacuated by McClure, the American general, after reducing the place to ashes; a proceeding for which he pleaded the orders of General Armstrong, secretary of war. Colonel Murray then crossed the channel and stormed Fort Niagara, capturing a large quantity of arms and stores. General Riall afterwards came over with a larger force, defeated General Hall, took Buffalo, then a village, with the adjacent one of Black Rock, and with doubtful propriety retaliated upon them the outrages committed at Newark.

Britain, meantime, made exertions to regain her naval superiority, compromised by the early operations. In April, 1813, Admirals Cockburn and Warren having united in the Chesapeake, with two seventy-fours, a number of frigates and smaller vessels, no American ship durst show itself, and the whole coast was at the mercy of the British. A large depot of stores was captured at Frenchtown on the Elk River; a battery which had been erected at the village of Havre de Grace was taken, and a great part committed to the flames. Admiral Cockburn announced, that the same treatment awaited all the places which should make a similar resistance. As the only charge was an attempt to defend themselves against a regular enemy, this step was unjustifiable by the laws of war. A fortification erected on Craney Island was attacked; but the British boats, having grounded on a muddy shore, became exposed to a heavy fire, and a loss was sustained of eleven killed and wounded, and fifty-two missing. The fortified town of

Hampton, however, was carried after a short contest, and the troops were guilty of great excesses. These were chiefly committed by two companies of Canadian chasseurs, who were not again employed. Early in 1814, the Americans formed a small armament of gun-boats, under Commodore Barney, which, being able to move in waters too shallow for the hostile vessels, might, it was hoped, protect the coast. Captain Barrie, however, with two frigates, forced it up a creek at the mouth of the Patuxent, where he held it blockaded. The government is said to have ordered the commodore to destroy the flotilla, when Colonel Wadsworth so skillfully raised a battery, that the frigates were obliged to withdraw, and Barney ascended the river. The British continued to reduce detached posts, and seize all the stores within reach.

The blockaded state of the American navy nearly precluded those combats of single vessels which had distinguished the former campaign so much in its favour. Captain Lawrence, of the sloop *Hornet*, after a cruise in the Brazils, met the British sloop *Peacock* of twenty guns, which he attacked, and in fifteen minutes so shattered her, that she surrendered, hoisting a signal of distress. The boats were immediately sent, but before the crew could be completely removed, she sunk, carrying down thirteen British and three Americans; four of the former were saved.

Lawrence, after this success, was immediately promoted to the command of the Chesapeake frigate, then lying at Boston; but that vessel could not stir out of port, in face of the British force. Captain Broke of the *Shannon*, however, in a chivalrous style, sent him a challenge,

promising that all other vessels should be kept at a distance, if he would consent to meet him singly. He then lay to near the lighthouse, and in due time the Chesapeake was seen to set her sails and bear down, displaying three handsome ensigns, and a white flag with the inscription, "*Free trade and sailors' rights.*" At half-past five, the two ships engaged within fifty yards; when in seven minutes, and after three broadsides, the Chesapeake fell upon the Shannon, the rigging of the two ships locking together. Captain Lawrence received a mortal wound; and Broke gave orders to board, which were immediately executed. Only an irregular and partial resistance was encountered; and in four minutes after the entry, and fifteen from the beginning of the action, the Chesapeake was captured.

On the 4th of September, 1813, the American brig of war *Enterprise*, fourteen guns, commanded by Lieutenant Burrows, fell in with and after an action of forty-five minutes, captured the British brig of war *Boxer*, of fourteen guns, and one hundred men. Both commanders fell in the action, and the *Boxer* was reduced to a complete wreck. The commanders were buried with military honours at Portland, Maine.

In the course of 1813, the Americans had to sustain a severe contest with the Creek Indians, for whose improvement and civilization the united government had made great efforts. Yet these were ill seconded by the border settlers, and the memory of former wrongs, and animosity towards the "Big Knives," were still cherished. These feelings were rekindled by the British war and solicitations from the great chief Tecumseh; and with the usual dissimulation of savages they prepared to

gratify them. To cover the frontier, a chain of twenty forts had been erected, the chief of which, Mimms, was the first object of attack. The security of the garrison was so complete, that a negro, who warned the governor of approaching danger, was twice flogged as a spreader of false reports. While he was undergoing the second infliction, the enemy appeared in view, and rushing in by the open gate, after a short contest massacred the one hundred and seven troops and two hundred and sixty inhabitants, seventeen only escaping.

A force of two thousand five hundred men was immediately levied, and placed under Generals Jackson and Coffee; the latter of whom was despatched with nine hundred against a strong post at Talluschatches. Having lured the Indians to a sally, he drove them back, and entered along with them. He draws a striking picture of the fierce determination with which they resisted. Not one asked for quarter; they continued fighting while able to stand or sit. In a short time their destruction was completed; a few women and children were wounded, it is said unintentionally, and the rest made prisoners. Jackson afterwards, with twelve hundred men, attacked a large body at Talladega, where his militia converted a feigned into a real retreat; yet with his reserve and a party of rallied fugitives, he routed them, killing two hundred and ninety. General White, at Hillabee, surprised a range of towns, and, on a flag being held out, spared two hundred and fifty-one prisoners. General Floyd from Georgia, and General Claiborne, governor of Alabama, gained also considerable advantages.

The Indians however continued to resist, and on a peninsula, formed by a bend of the Tallapoosa, strongly

fortified an intrenched camp, which became the basis of their operations. In January, 1814, Jackson marched against it with a considerable force ; but on the 21st, having discovered a large trail, halted for the night. Next morning, he encountered a severe attack, which was with difficulty repulsed ; after which, Coffee reconnoitred the camp, but considered it too strong to be carried by assault. The enemy made a fresh onset upon the right, which was found only a feint to cover a more serious one on the left ; but both were finally repulsed. Another body then attacked the rear, which Jackson learned with joy, hoping to surround them ; but at this moment the militia betook themselves to flight, throwing the centre into confusion ; yet, with a small body that still stood by him, he repelled the assault. On the whole, however, he found himself obliged to retire, giving up for the present the object of the expedition.

Soon afterwards he assembled a larger body, and by the 26th of March, again reached the spot. Sending Coffee to the opposite bank to cut off the retreat, he endeavoured to effect approaches by artillery ; but not succeeding, determined to attempt storming the works. The conflict was desperate. Major Montgomery, in mounting the wall, fell dead ; yet the Americans finally forced their way into the camp, and the Indian force was entirely destroyed, five hundred and fifty-three being found dead, and only three taken. Weatherford, their greatest chief, then came and surrendered himself, saying : " There was a time when I had a choice. I have none now ; every hope is ended. Once I could animate my warriors to battle ; but I cannot animate the dead. My people are gone, and I now ask peace for my nation

and myself." In August, a treaty was concluded entirely favourable to the United States.

The commencement of the year 1814 was distinguished by events in Europe of the most portentous magnitude; the entry of the allied armies into Paris, the forced abdication of Napoleon, his exile to Elba, and the establishment of general peace on the Continent. These events, which filled the European world with almost universal exultation, produced in America a very different impression. The British forces by sea and land, which had been instrumental in overthrowing the greatest military power in the world, could now be turned undivided against them. Every stage, however, of this extraordinary contest seemed destined to present a result opposite to what could possibly have been expected. The British cabinet did not turn duly to account their commanding position. Their object being to strike a grand and decisive blow, the whole force should have been concentrated against the most vital and important point of the United States territory. This was evidently the capital and the great commercial cities, which were also the most exposed and accessible. Instead of this, the attack was directed against three different points, so immensely distant as to admit of no co-operation. The main and central one was assailed by a comparative handful, while the largest bodies were sent into remote quarters, where advance was opposed by natural barriers almost insurmountable, and undisciplined troops were equal or superior to regulars. Hence, instead of the hoped-for triumphs, failure and disgrace were to a great extent experienced.

The first movement, however, was executed against

the capital. On the 2d of June, about two thousand five hundred men were embarked at Bayonne under General Ross, a distinguished young officer. On the 14th of August, the expedition entered the Chesapeake, and on the 18th reached the mouth of the Patuxent. Admiral Cockburn had joined them with his squadron, having on board troops, which raised the force to about four thousand. The general landed, and proceeded along the river to Nottingham; while the admiral sailed up to the station of the American Commodore Barney with his flotilla. The vessels on his approach were set on fire, and all except one destroyed, the seamen departing to reinforce the army. The determination was then formed, on the suggestion it is said of the naval commander, to march to the attack of Washington.

The American cabinet, as soon as it heard of the fall of Napoleon, had felt the probability of such an enterprise, and even of being assailed by a larger force. Yet unable to command above a thousand regular troops, they ordered ten thousand militia from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, to reinforce five thousand already mustered. Those states, however, as on other occasions, without refusing, neglected or delayed to obey the summons. Even with their small force, the Americans might have done much, had they employed it in a suitable manner, filling the woods with their dexterous riflemen, obstructing the roads, and harassing the invader by constant partial attacks; but they preferred to select a position covering Washington, where they drew up their raw militia in line, to fight a pitched battle with the British veterans.

The latter, in marching through a wooded territory

with strict and almost trembling precautions, were not a little gratified to find no danger to guard against. In the evening of the 24th of August, they reached Bladensburg, on the Potomac, and saw the American army drawn up on the opposite bank, six thousand five hundred strong, of whom the most efficient were one thousand regulars and six hundred sailors. They were arranged along the river, in two lines, with a reserve, while riflemen occupied a small wood on a hill, and batteries commanded the bridge. The British light brigade, under Colonels Thornton and Brooke, pushed across, but were severely galled by the guns and rifles. In a short time, however, they cleared these obstacles, and drove the skirmishers upon the first line, which being then assailed, fled with precipitation. The British then too daringly advanced upon the second line, where the best troops were posted, and were driven back with some loss; but being reinforced, they renewed the attack, when the left, composed of militia, soon gave way. The right, where the seamen worked skilfully at the guns, made a brave stand but were quickly overpowered, and Commodore Barney was left wounded on the field. Mr. Madison and the heads of departments left the capital on the approach of the enemy. The British loss was pretty severe, sixty-four killed and one hundred and eighty-five wounded; that of the Americans amounted only to one hundred killed and wounded.

General Ross, with the part of his army not engaged, immediately advanced to Washington. A consultation was held by the opposite party as to the possibility of defending it; but the militia, fleeing in every direction, had very partially taken this right one, so that the force

mustered was pronounced too small to afford any hope of resistance. The troops, on hearing this, are said to have shown the deepest anguish, and all order ceasing, they dispersed. The British army then entered and took possession of the city; and as circumstances allowed them to hold it only for a short time, the object was to make their visit be felt as severely as possible. Private property was strictly respected; but the navy yard was reduced to ashes, to which was added the president's mansion and the capitol or seat of congress, in whose fate were included the national library and archives. This last proceeding was loudly denounced by the Americans as barbarous; and with reason. The French revolutionary armies, though they had by no means paid the same regard to individual rights, had not demolished palaces or public edifices, nor was this course indeed usual in civilized warfare. By an official return, the following estimate was made of the injury sustained:—

Capitol, - - - - -	\$787,100
President's house, &c. -	427,900
Navy yard. - - - - -	509,000
	1,724,000=£387,900.

At eight o'clock in the evening of the 25th, the British left Washington and returned leisurely to the coast, which they reached on the 29th without molestation. They there got intelligence of an unpleasant event. Sir Peter Parker, commanding the *Menelaus* frigate, had been detached on service up the bay; but, newly arrived from England, he was not aware of the skill and activity of the enemy in desultory warfare. Hav-

ing landed with one hundred and twenty-five men, and come up with an American detachment posted close to a wood, the latter, when attacked, retreated under that shelter, whence they kept up a most destructive fire on the English, who in vain sought to reach them. Sir Peter himself was killed, with thirteen of his men, and twenty-seven wounded; while the Americans sustained scarcely any loss.

The success of the attack upon Washington encouraged the British commander to undertake an expedition against another city, from which he was however, destined to meet with a different reception. Baltimore, from its proximity and its exposed situation, as well as from the booty it was supposed might be obtained, became the next object of attack; and no time was lost in assailing it.

The whole of the militia of the city were called into the field, which, with a brigade of Virginia volunteers, a few companies from Pennsylvania, and about seven hundred regulars, amounting in all to fifteen thousand men, formed the defence of the place. Commodore Rodgers, with his marines, took charge of the principal batteries on the high ground, situated on the eastern side of the town—the only point through which it was assailable by land—where a ditch was hastily thrown up, and guarded by at least ten thousand men. One division of this force was confided to General Winder, another to General Stricker, the whole under the command of General Samuel Smith, an officer distinguished in the revolutionary war, by his defence of Fort Mifflin. The approach to the city, by water, was defended by Fort McHenry, garrisoned by one thousand men under

Major Armistead ; by larger vessels sunk in the channel of the river ; and by two temporary works, between Fort McHenry and the city, superintended by Lieutenants Newcomb and Webster of the navy.

On the 11th of September, Admiral Cochrane appeared at the mouth of the Patapsco, with a squadron of fifty sail, and on the succeeding morning, the land-forces, to the number of about five thousand men, debarked at North Point, about fourteen miles from Baltimore, and took up their march for that city. In anticipation of their landing, General Stricker was detached with three thousand two hundred men, to impede their progress. On the morning of the 12th, information being received of the landing of the enemy, General Stricker took a favourable position at the junction of two roads, about eight miles from Baltimore, resting his right on Bear creek, and his left on a marsh ; the artillery (six four-pounders,) being posted on the main road. Having sent on an advanced corps, to engage the light troops of the enemy, who had taken possession of a farm-house, at the distance of about three miles, he awaited their approach. This detachment had hardly proceeded half a mile, when it fell in with the main body of the enemy ; and a skirmish ensued between the most advanced parties in which the British commander, General Ross, was killed. The command devolved upon Colonel Brook, who continued to move forward ; and, about half-past three, the action commenced by the discharge of cannon on both sides. The Americans retired gradually towards the city, until the evening, when they rested within half a mile of their intrenchments. During the day, the enemy suffered heavily. On the following morning the

British appeared within two miles of the intrenchments, and shortly afterwards they moved to the right, with the apparent intention of taking a circuitous route to reach the city; but, having been frustrated in their attempts to do so, by the skilful manœuvres of General Smith, they advanced within one mile, apparently with the design of assaulting the works in front during the night.

Meanwhile Fort McHenry was furiously assailed. At sunrise, on the 13th, the bombardment commenced from the bomb-vessels of the enemy, at the distance of about two miles. This being out of range of the guns of the fort, it was compelled to remain silent. Though thus inactive, and exposed to an incessant shower of shells, the troops within the fort remained steadfast at their posts, with a degree of firmness that would have reflected honour on the most experienced veterans. The bursting of a shell within the south-west bastion, having created some little confusion, the ships of the enemy were advanced, in the hope of profiting by it; they were, however, soon compelled, by the heavy and well-directed fire of the garrison, to retreat with very considerable loss, to their former stations, where they continued the same tremendous bombardment until seven in the morning of the 14th. During the night, and in the midst of a most heavy cannonade, several of the rocket-vessels and barges succeeded in passing the fort, and entering the Patapsco undiscovered; but they were perceived by the smaller forts, and were received by so well-directed a fire, that they retired, with the loss of one of their barges, which sunk, with all on board. The British admiral, finding that the defences by water were too

strong to be overcome, had, after consulting with Colonel Brook, resolved that the whole force should be withdrawn: and, at nine in the morning, the fleet fell down to North Point, where the re-embarkation of the troops took place on that evening. The next day the whole fleet descended the Chesapeake. The loss of the British troops in this demonstration, according to their own official accounts, was thirty-nine killed and two hundred and fifty-one wounded. Of the Americans, twenty-four were killed, one hundred and thirty-nine wounded, and about fifty taken prisoners.

All classes and parties had united in defence of their homes and firesides. The experience of other parts of the country had evinced what was to be anticipated from a successful issue to the enemy's designs; and they had every reason to expect, in case of the capture of their city, that neither sex nor age, the works of art, nor the temples of religion, would be held sacred by the licentious invaders. The most strenuous exertions were therefore made to prevent the deeds of Hampton, Havre de Grace, and Washington, from being repeated at Baltimore. With a few exceptions, the militia maintained their ground with a degree of bravery which evinced that they had not degenerated from their predecessors of the revolution. Their efforts were happily crowned with success. This repulse of the enemy at Baltimore, happening at the same period with his defeat at Plattsburg, and on Lake Champlain, taught him a useful lesson, which had an important effect on the negotiations then pending at Ghent.

Early in this campaign, the Americans made some vigorous attempts on the Canadian frontier. General

Wilkinson, with four thousand men from Plattsburg, attacked Colonel Williams, who held a fortified position at La Colle; but meeting a warm reception, he was obliged to fall back. The British, in May, carried the fort of Oswego, with a considerable amount of ammunition and stores. The main effort of the Americans, however, was on the Niagara frontier, where they had assembled about five thousand men, under Generals Brown, Scott, and Ripley. They crossed the channel, and captured Fort Erie, with its garrison of a hundred and seventy men; and then, marching along the left bank, encountered at Chippewa a strong British advanced guard, who, after an obstinate engagement, were driven back into their intrenchments with considerable loss. Riall, their commander, then retreated upon Fort George, followed by Brown; but the latter, finding his opponent stronger than he expected, and his own rear threatened, again fell back upon Chippewa. At Lundy's Lane, in its vicinity, the two armies came unexpectedly on each other; and there ensued a long, confused, and most obstinate conflict. By a singular chance, when the British were hard pressed, General Drummond arrived with a reinforcement from York, and restored the battle. In its prosecution he was wounded, as were also Brown and Scott on the American side, while Riall was taken prisoner. Victory was ultimately claimed by both parties; however, the issue was, that the Americans retired to their camp, and thence to Fort Erie.

Drummond then advanced, and laid siege to the place. On the morning of the 15th of August, he made an assault with two divisions, and a bastion had been gained, when, chiefly from the explosion of a barrel of powder,

he was obliged to retreat with very severe loss. The siege was pressed till the 17th of September, when Brown made a skilful and successful sortie, in which he destroyed the principal works of the besiegers, which obliged Drummond to raise the siege, and fall back on Chippewa. Before this time, too, in order to relieve the fortress, General Izard had been detached with five thousand men from the main body at Plattsburg. His arrival gave to his countrymen a decided superiority, and the British found it prudent to retreat as far as the old position of Burlington Heights. There, however, fresh reinforcements having completely restored their superiority, Izard was obliged to return to Fort Erie, and even to evacuate that fortress, taking up his winter quarters on the opposite bank. On the whole, in this very checkered and hard-fought campaign, the American army, now mostly composed of regular troops, retrieved its honour, and made displays of talent and valour that placed it on a level with the veteran force to which it was opposed.

In another quarter they gained still more decided laurels. Sir George Prevost, governor of Canada, was enabled, by the reinforcements from Europe, to assemble eleven thousand men, with whom he marched upon the American head-quarters at Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain; and Captain Downie, with a flotilla, coasted the lake, ready to co-operate. On the other side, General Macomb, after the detachment of Izard, had scarcely two thousand men, whom he kept carefully intrenched. The hostile forces came into contact on the 11th of September; but the naval part engaged first, when, after a conflict of an hour and a half, the British were completely defeated, and a great portion of their ships captured.

Sir George, then considering it hopeless to expect any important military advantage, withdrew his army into Canada, a step which, considering his great superiority, was very generally censured. On the whole, the prudence of attempting to push offensive operations on this difficult frontier, where Burgoyne had so signally failed, seems very questionable.

Towards the close of the year, the main theatre of war was transferred to the south. New Orleans, from its position at the mouth of the Mississippi, possessed considerable importance; and its population, being mostly foreign, were supposed to be but slightly attached to the States' government. Its situation, however, was little known, and, as already observed, remote from any other vital position. As soon as the design of attacking this point became evident, the command was bestowed on General Jackson, who prepared for defence with that uncompromising energy which always marked his character. Suspecting that the Spaniards favoured the invader, he took possession of their fort of Pensacola; and learning afterwards that the legislature of Louisiana had some intention to negotiate, he stopped their proceedings by a military movement. He collected all persons capable of bearing arms, negroes, prisoners, and even marauders; and to maintain discipline among this motley group, proclaimed martial law.

The British force, early in December, 1814, arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi. The main trunk of that mighty stream, though capable of admitting ships of war, was so encumbered by trees, and defended by strong forts, as to be considered impracticable. At some distance to the east, however, was a large shallow lake,

or more properly bay, named Borgne, the head of which reached nearly to the river, at a point little below New Orleans. The army were landed on an island near its mouth; but the waters were too low to allow the ascent of large vessels, and the Americans had a flotilla strong enough to arrest smaller ones. Forty-two armed boats, under Captain Lockyer, attacked this force, and compelled it to surrender, which enabled the British to forward their troops, though only in successive divisions. The foremost, under Colonel Thornton, was landed on the night of the 21st, upon a swampy wooded spot, and reinforced next day by General Keene, to the number of about three thousand. They marched upwards along the banks, but being severely annoyed by the fire of a schooner in the river, were obliged to seek the shelter of rocks and uneven ground. In this position they were startled by the fire of musketry, and found that Jackson was attacking them with all his disposable force. A confused and obstinate combat ensued, the two armies being mixed together amid a deep fog, which rendered it impossible to distinguish friends from foes. Success varied at different points; but the British finally repulsed the assailants, though with the loss of nearly three hundred killed, wounded, and missing. It has been surmised by writers on both sides, that had General Keene then pushed directly forward, he might have carried the city, both the garrison and defences being still comparatively weak. In fact, however, neither the main body of the troops nor the two commanders-in-chief had yet arrived.

Jackson now formed a line of intrenchment covering New Orleans, and in which, besides the usual defensive materials, he employed bags of cotton, which, by their

yielding texture, were almost impervious to cannon. He raised also a battery on the opposite bank, whence the fire might bear upon the main defence, and thus harass the approach of the British. The latter, still annoyed by the fire from the vessels, succeeded by means of red hot balls in blowing up one and compelling the other to retire.

On the 25th, Generals Pakenham and Gibbs, first and second in command, arrived, bringing additional troops, which raised the whole to upwards of five thousand. On the 28th, they pushed forward their artillery, and attempted to storm the American works; but after an obstinate conflict were obliged to retire with the loss of about one hundred killed and wounded; and even Mr. James admits, that the guns of the defenders were here served in a superior manner. General Pakenham then determined to attempt carrying the place by escalade; previously, however, sending a corps across the river, which might capture the fort there, and turn its fire against the Americans. With this view it was necessary to bring boats from Lake Borgne to the Mississippi, cutting a canal across the separating neck of land. This could not be effected till the 6th of January; and the Americans, meantime, were incessantly strengthening their works, and receiving reinforcements, which, including two thousand two hundred and fifty Kentuckian rifles, raised their force to above twelve thousand. The British received also two regiments, which made them seven thousand three hundred strong.

The 8th of January, before daybreak, being appointed for the grand attack, Colonel Thornton was instructed to cross with fourteen hundred men, and capture the oppo

site battery. In consequence of the unfavourable state of the weather, or some neglect, the boats were not ready till after sunrise, and thus the best time for both operations was lost. Pakenham, though severely disappointed, resolved to lead on his men under all the disadvantages of daylight and exposure to this cross fire. The Americans allowed them to approach within three hundred yards, when they opened a terrible discharge from a well served artillery, and the almost unerring Kentucky rifle. A fatal mistake, too, was discovered. The 44th regiment had been ordered to bring up the fascines, but neglected this duty, and were sent back for them when it was too late. One party, without this aid, succeeded in mounting a bastion, but were unable to maintain their post. The whole force began to waver, and instead of pushing forward, discharged from a distance a useless fire of musketry. The fascines were brought up, but, when they should have been advanced to the batteries, were scattered over the field. Pakenham, rushing to the front, and endeavouring to cheer on his men, was killed on the spot; and Gibbs and Keene were both wounded, the former mortally. General Lambert, commanding the reserve, in vain endeavoured to rally the troops, who precipitately retreated out of the reach of this dreadful fire. Yet Colonel Thornton had completely succeeded against the opposite battery, whence the Kentuckians, so formidable at a distance, hastily fled; but the achievement being now useless, he was immediately recalled. The carnage on the British side was almost without example, amounting to two hundred and ninety-one killed, twelve hundred and sixty-two wounded, and four hundred and eighty-four missing. On the other hand,

the main force of the Americans had only six killed and seven wounded. On the western bank, and in an unsuccessful sortie, they had lost two hundred and twenty seven. General Lambert remained a few days in front of the place, but then determined not to attempt another attack, and embarked on the 16th. The campaign had thus been honourable for America, and, at some points, triumphant.

Previously to the recent victories, an offer of mediation between the United States and Great Britain, from the emperor of Russia, had been made, and accepted by the former. The British cabinet declined negotiating in this form, but offered to treat directly. This was acceded to; and the place, after being fixed at Gottenburg, was transferred to Ghent. There, in July, 1814, John Quincy Adams, Bayard, Clay, and Russell, on the American side, met with Gambier, Goulburn, and W. Adams on the British.

The parties began with mutual professions of a pacific disposition, after which the commissioners from Britain opened their views. They did not aim at any extension of territory, but merely such an arrangement of boundaries as might conduce to future security. Hence they desired the entire command of the lakes, and beyond them a neutral Indian territory to serve as a barrier. A more precise and a favourable settlement of the boundary with Maine and Massachusetts was also desired. The present fishing privileges must be abridged, and the right of impressment acknowledged. The Americans replied that they had no authority to yield any portion of territory, and no idea that their government would surrender their position on the lakes, or their

claims on the Indian country. To it they looked as the means of national growth ; they had purchased a large portion, and hoped soon to acquire the whole. Nor could they agree to any abridgment of the fishery ; and instead of acknowledging the right of impressment, were instructed to demand its renunciation, as well as that of extended blockade ; likewise compensation for the injuries sustained by America from these measures. The parties seemed thus very wide of each other ; and the Americans transmitted to Washington unfavourable anticipations. It soon appeared, however, that the terms were not meant to be peremptory on either side. In relation to the Indians, the British limited their claim to the including of them in the treaty ; and when this was declared incompatible with the States' sovereignty, offered to be satisfied with an agreement that this people should in no shape be molested for the part they had taken in the war. The question of the fishery might be passed over ; and in proof of a strong conciliatory spirit, all mention of impressment would be omitted. After these concessions, they proposed the *uti possidetis*, or state of actual possession. The other party having repelled a basis by which they would have lost considerable portions of Maine and Massachusetts, were then asked to give in a counter project. They delivered one, proposing the state before the war, the protection of the Indians as desired by Britain, and the reference of the disputed boundary to a friendly power ; adding their original demands as to impressment, blockades, and compensation. The project was returned to them with the last three articles expunged, as wholly inadmissible. They had in fact been instructed that these could not

now be insisted upon as a *sine qua non*; and therefore, as the other terms were admitted, the treaty was finally agreed to, and signed on the 24th of December, 1814. Considering that the failure at New Orleans was not then known, the Americans may be considered as having gained conditions fully as advantageous as they had reason to expect.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN, TO THE WAR
WITH MEXICO.

THE Americans had terminated the war, resigning all their objects in undertaking it, yet preserving their territory and resources undiminished. They had, however, contracted a debt of eighty-one millions of dollars, in addition to a previous one of thirty-nine millions, making in all one hundred and twenty (nearly £30,000,000 sterling). This was independent of some further claims which it would be necessary to liquidate. A reduction of the large war establishment was deemed indispensable, yet without bringing it so extremely low as formerly under Jefferson; the fortifications commenced along the Atlantic coast were to be completed; and measures taken to maintain and even strengthen the navy. The miserable state of the currency showed the necessity of a new national bank, which was accordingly chartered on the footing formerly mentioned.

The states of Barbary, especially Algiers, taking advantage of the British war, had recommenced their piracies, and advanced anew demands of tribute. The American government now determined to chastise this conduct, and sent two successive squadrons, under Decatur and Bainbridge. The former arrived first, scoured the Mediterranean, and captured two Algerine ships of war; then presenting himself before the city,

he intimidated the Dey into a treaty, making satisfaction for former outrages, and withdrawing all future claim for tribute. A visit to Tunis and Tripoli produced results equally satisfactory. Bainbridge then arrived, and as the superior officer, took the command; but all had been already done. He merely appeared again before the cities, and finding every thing in a satisfactory state, withdrew. Yet the Dey next year assumed a hostile attitude, alleging an infraction of the treaty, and resuming the demand of tribute. On a determined answer being returned, he withdrew these pretensions.

Mr. Madison's second term of office having expired in March, 1817, he followed the example of Washington and Jefferson, and declined standing a third time. His party brought forward Monroe, long an eminent diplomatist, and who had acted under him as secretary. The federals put forward Mr. Rufus King of New York; but he had the votes only of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware, all the other states being unanimous for his opponent, who was thus elected by one hundred and eighty-three to thirty-four; Mr. Tompkins of New York being made vice-president.

The attention of the cabinet was anxiously directed towards obtaining possession of Florida. That province was so inclosed within the States' territories, and so necessary for completing their outline, that its possession by Spain was an uneasy and inconvenient circumstance. This power, being extremely weak, and involved in a fruitless contest with her own South American colonies, could oppose no serious resistance. Some adventurers from the revolted colonies, and pretending the authority of their chiefs, took possession of Amelia Island, on the

Floridan coast; while another band seized Galveston, in Texas. From these points they began to carry on privateering operations, and otherwise to annoy American citizens. It being discovered that neither had connexion with any government, expeditions were sent which rooted up their settlements; yet this was complained of by Spain as an encroachment. Again, on the frontier of Florida, outrages were committed by bodies of Indians, alleged to be fomented by the Spanish authorities. General Jackson being appointed to the command, with his accustomed rough decision entered the country and took possession of St. Marks and Pensacola. Having captured two Englishmen, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, he brought them to trial before a court-martial for exciting the Indians to insurrection, when they were condemned and executed. He was arraigned in congress for these extraordinary stretches of power, and a committee reported on them with great severity; yet he was acquitted in the house, being supported by government, who, however, sent orders to restore the captured places. It assumed these movements, however, as grounds for eagerly pressing the desired cession. Complaints were raised of illegal captures, made more than twenty years ago, to the amount of several millions of dollars. This claim would be waived, and a cession made of that upon the territory of Texas, provided Florida were given up. The former indeed was esteemed by Spain as part of Mexico, and could in no shape be made available by her. Yet, on the 23d of February, 1819, Don Onis, the Spanish minister, signed a treaty on the above conditions. Ferdinand, however, refused to ratify it, and sent a new ambassador to complain of hostile proceedings by Ameri-

can citizens. That cabinet strongly remonstrated against this measure, and even threatened to take possession of the territory by main force. Thus, in October, 1820, a ratification was at length obtained, and in the following year possession was given of the country.

In 1821, on the admission of Missouri into the Union, the enemies of slavery made an effort to prohibit its existence in that new state. This measure had passed the representatives, but was most vehemently opposed by the southern deputies, who even threatened, if it were carried, to break up the Union. They at length succeeded, granting only, by way of compromise, that slavery was not to extend north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ N. latitude. This, however, was the commencement of a great struggle, which has since been carried on without intermission.

In 1822, the government determined to acknowledge the new republics formed in South America. They were observed to be now in complete possession of actual independence, Spain not having for three years sent a single corps against them. Ministers were therefore appointed to Mexico, Buenos Ayres, Colombia, and Chili. Measures, too, were at this time taken to suppress a system of piracy which had risen to a great height in the West Indies, especially on the coast of Cuba.

Another question, which has deeply agitated the Union, rose at this time into prominent view. The democratic party, from causes already explained, had renounced their original principle of free trade, and become attached to that of protecting native manufactures by high duties on those imported. They had thus be-

come allied to the powerful and rising body of northern merchants and manufacturers. The agricultural states, however, to whose interest this system was considered adverse, made a strong opposition, and it was not till 1824, that this was overcome, and a heavy tariff established.

In 1825, Mr. Monroe's second term of office expired, and he followed his predecessors' example of not standing for a third. A keen and close contest followed, not however founded upon political, but upon state and sectional partialities. Andrew Jackson of Tennessee had ninety-nine votes, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, eighty-four, W. H. Crawford of Georgia, forty-one, Henry Clay of Kentucky, thirty-seven. The constitution had however regulated, that whenever no single candidate had a majority of the entire number, the election should devolve on the representatives. Their choice fell upon Adams, whose accession did not make any present change in the system of government, since he had acted as secretary of state under the late president, and professed to follow in his steps. Yet during his rule, the preceding harmony was entirely broken up, and the foundation laid for contests as terrible as had ever shaken the Union. Representing the most commercial of the states, he became the impersonation of the mercantile and monied interest, which had risen to unprecedented importance. His entire support was given to their favourite objects—the imposition of heavy duties on foreign manufactures, the support of the national bank and the banking system in general, and the executing or aiding of public works and improvements out of the funds of the central government. For

this last purpose large appropriations were made, and extensive surveys undertaken. But the most momentous act under this administration was the tariff of 1828, by which the duties on imported manufactures were rendered almost prohibitory. The great agricultural interest, always averse to this system, had hitherto from feelings of national pride, been induced to acquiesce. Its influence, however, both in raising the price of articles of consumption, and reducing the rent for produce, became now most severe. This body, too, looked with disgust on the immense wealth acquired and profusely displayed in the mercantile cities, contrasted with the humble mediocrity earned by rural industry. They were thus organized into a regular opposition, at the head of which Jackson placed himself, with all the weight derived from his energetic character and military reputation. The contest was severe; but his victory proved complete, one hundred and seventy-eight votes being obtained against eighty-three for Adams.

Jackson immediately applied himself to carry out his views with an impetuosity and determination characteristic of himself, but to which the American people had not been accustomed. Following an example which Jefferson only had set in a small degree, he removed all the officials who had shown any attachment to the late government, substituting his own political friends. On the presentation of a bill for subscribing out of the general funds to a new road over the Alleghany, he applied to it his veto, intimating his resolution to treat similarly every proposal for defraying local improvements out of the public revenue. As the charter of the bank was soon to expire, he expressed a disposition not to renew

it, without a great retrenchment of its privileges. The tariff, too, should, he thought, be modified, though on this point he was by no means so forward in seconding the views of his party.

The first collision arose on the subject of the bank, whose charter was to expire in 1836. This body, comprising some individuals of great wealth, and being as it were the centre of the mercantile and monied interest, was an object of peculiar odium to the high democratic party. Yet the former influence, joined to the experience of the benefits of the institution, procured considerable majorities in both houses for a bill renewing its charter, under some slight modifications, for fifteen years. On being presented to Jackson, however, it was met by a decided veto, the institution being represented as at once unnecessary and dangerous, as a contrivance of the wealthier classes to increase their opulence, to render the rich richer, and the potent more powerful, at the expense of the humbler classes of society. As the majority in neither house amounted to two-thirds, this veto decided the fate of the bill and of the bank.

Meantime the states were involved on the north-western frontier in a somewhat formidable Indian war. The course of events had pushed settlements into this quarter, where the natives had remained hitherto nearly undisturbed; and the lead mines of Galena had drawn thither a considerable population, not of the most select description. In these circumstances, the ordinary causes of collision could not be avoided. The natives, complaining of being wronged, began their usual fierce retaliation; and after detached outrages on both sides, a general Indian confederacy was formed, under the chief,

Black Hawk and his brother, called the Prophet. A desolating war was suddenly commenced along a line of three hundred miles of frontier. Many settlers were either killed or carried into captivity. Meantime a strong force of regular troops and of the militia of Illinois assembled under Generals Scott and Atkinson. On their approach, the Indians did not attempt a regular contest, but retreated over a broken tract towards the Missouri. They were pursued, and completely dispersed, being severely harassed by the Sioux and Winnebagoes, who had formerly favoured their cause. Black Hawk, the Prophet, and other chiefs were taken and paraded through the principal cities of the Union. The treaty of peace included a large cession of territory, which became the basis of the two new territories of Wisconsin and Iowa, now rapidly filling with people.

In the same year, 1832, a contest almost as violent arose within the Union itself. The agricultural, and especially the southern interests, had supported Jackson on the understanding of a material reduction in the tariff. An extraordinary depression had in fact taken place in the price of cotton,—the staple of so many states. The president, however, had not displayed much ardour in regard to this object, or a disposition to carry it out to any great extent. In the session of 1832, a bill was passed, somewhat modifying the rates, but not to a degree at all satisfactory. The southern people then became desperate. Those of South Carolina contended, that congress had no power to impose taxes for any purposes but those of revenue; that each state had a right to judge whether that body exceeded its powers, and in that case to disobey it. They therefore declared

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the tariff null and void, making it unlawful for any of the constituted authorities to enforce it, and disallowing all appeal to the supreme court. Any act which might be passed by congress to coerce them into obedience would be considered as absolving them from the obligation to maintain the Union, and they would proceed to organize a separate government. These views were supported by their legislature; and Mr. Calhoun, of this state, resigned his office of vice-president, when he was nominated to the senate, in order to support the cause. Jackson, however, in a proclamation, and afterwards in a message to the house, denounced them as wholly unconstitutional, and subversive of all the advantages which the states derived from their union. The laws of the United States must be executed; he had no discretionary power on the subject. His declarations being strongly seconded by Webster and other leading orators of the commercial party, received the warm concurrence of congress. The Carolinians, on the other hand, took measures for calling out the militia, fortifying the posts, and otherwise preparing to repel force by force. A collision seemed inevitable, and could not have failed to be very serious, as Virginia and other neighbouring states, without sharing in the movement, were known to view it with favour, and could not be expected to aid cordially in its suppression. A stormy session was spent without the passing of any measure promising to extricate the nation from this dilemma, when Mr. Clay brought forward a proposition, that the rates should undergo an annual reduction, till they were brought down to twenty per cent., which was to be fixed as the permanent amount. This motion being assented to by

Mr. Calhoun, was carried through congress. Peace was thus restored to the Union; yet zealous politicians on each side complained of its having been obtained by a mere practical compromise, without any settlement of the constitutional principle.

In 1833, Jackson's first term of office having expired, Mr. Clay, of Kentucky, who had gained much reputation by the adjustment of the Carolina question, was opposed to him by the bank and commercial party. The former was re-elected, however, by an overwhelming majority, two hundred and nineteen to forty-nine; while Van Buren, a statesman devoted to his views, was, by numbers nearly equal, elected vice-president. He was thus encouraged to persevere in the warfare against the bank, his resentment being further excited by the hostile part which he alleged them—not perhaps without some reason—to have taken against his election. His next step was to withdraw the deposits of public money placed in their hands, and from which much of their importance as well as emolument had been derived. He had formerly invited congress to consider whether these sums could be safely lodged with them; but that body made the unwelcome report, that they were thus perfectly secure. He then took the opportunity of an interval when the legislature was not sitting, and ordered the secretary of the treasury to withdraw them. That officer, who was alone privileged by the constitution to take this step, considered it unjustifiable, and refused to comply. He was dismissed, and a new one appointed, who obeyed the order. At the next meeting of congress, the senate, who still adhered to the opposite interest, after warm debates, passed a resolution, that the president, in

these proceedings, had "assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both." Jackson replied by a long and indignant protest, strenuously defending his own conduct, and insisting that they had no right to advance such charges against him in any other shape but that of impeachment. He afterwards announced that the government money had been placed in the state banks, where it was found perfectly safe; and that every purpose was answered which had formerly been served by its deposit in the national institution.

The government was soon after involved in serious transactions with the Indian nations. The remains of their tribes, by successive wars, purchases, and treaties, had become scattered throughout the territory in detached sections, completely surrounded and inclosed by their conquerors. In such a situation, frequent collision was almost unavoidable. The Indians murmured, that the remnant of their territory was eagerly coveted and grasped at by every possible means; that they were exposed to constant outrages, without hope of redress; to which might be added that they often sought it themselves not in the mildest manner. The state governments complained, that to have independent states of so turbulent a character inclosed within their domain, was incompatible with any regular system of administration. In these circumstances a plan was devised, which was first developed by Monroe in his message of the 7th of December, 1824, for removing them to the territory beyond the Mississippi.

It continued to be prosecuted under the administration of Adams, yet without, for some time, making much pro-

gress. Jackson, however, applied himself to the object with characteristic energy and determination. Without employing absolute compulsion, he intimated that they could only remain on condition of ceasing to be independent, and becoming subject to the laws of the state within which they were located. This alternative, as was expected, appeared to them so terrible, that a reluctant consent to removal began to be extorted. In December, 1830, the president could announce a treaty to that effect with the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Fruitless negotiations were carried on with the Cherokees; but, in 1833, agreements were made with the Creeks in Alabama, and the Seminoles in Florida, who, in their difficult country, had been reinforced by fugitives from various states. Concerning the transactions with this last people, no regular or authenticated narrative has yet been published; and we must depend chiefly on an article in the *North American Review*, not perhaps quite friendly to the president. They stipulated, it appears, for a deputation to proceed and to examine the territory assigned, understanding that the final decision was to depend upon its report. Government, on the contrary, conceived the engagement to be absolute, and in April, 1834, obtained a vote of congress for its execution. The deputation, it is said, on their return, reported favourably of the territory, but objected to the vicinity in which they would be placed to some hostile tribes. The year 1835 having nearly elapsed without any movement, Jackson pressed with extreme urgency their immediate departure. The resolution was then taken of resisting to the last extremity. Ocoola, the chief, proclaimed it treason for any Indian to leave the country. A general attack was com-

menced on the American frontier posts, which, being very unprepared, suffered severely. On the 28th of December, 1835, a detachment of one hundred and two men was cut off, three only escaping; and the bodies of the slain were found fifty-three days after, lying unburied on the field of battle. On the 31st, a body of between two hundred and three hundred were defeated, with the loss of sixty-three killed and wounded. The war spread among the adjacent tribe of the Creeks, and became one of the longest and most obstinate ever waged between the two races. When the main force of the States was brought up, the insurgents were unable to face it in the open field; but to root them out of the swamps, morasses, and dense entangled forests of this most difficult country, proved a task truly arduous. What rendered the American force both inefficient and expensive, was its being mostly composed of militia, called out only for a certain time, a great part of which was occupied in the march and return. The total expenditure of the war is reckoned at twenty million dollars (above £4,000,000 sterling.) At length, in 1839, General Macomb concluded a treaty, by which they were not obliged to emigrate, but allowed to occupy, unmolested, a certain range of territory. Thence, however, they made formidable incursions, and it was not till August, 1842, that government could announce the final termination of this contest. The Creeks had already been subdued, and about 1840 the object had been nearly completed of transporting the whole of the Indian race to the territory assigned to them along the western frontier.

Negotiations had been long carried on with France on account of the seizures made under the decrees of Na-

oleon. These had even been acknowledged to the extent of twenty-five millions of Francs (above £1,000,000,) but the government had been exceedingly slow in making the payment. In 1836, however, the energy of Jackson, accompanied even by a threat of war, extorted its liquidation.

The finances at this period reached a point of prosperity not attained in any other civilized country. The whole of the national debt had been paid off, and a considerable surplus was found in the treasury. As it was not considered advisable either to reduce the duties on imports, or the price of public land, it was resolved to distribute this sum among the states, to be employed for purposes of internal improvement. This prosperity encouraged the president to continue his warfare against banks, and even to form the design of banishing paper currency, and substituting one entirely of gold. As a preliminary, orders were issued to refuse payment in any other shape for the land sales. This occasioned a drain of specie, which, combined doubtless with other causes, hurried on that violent crisis when all the banks stopped at once, and the whole nation, from the height of prosperity, was plunged into the deepest distress.

This result was favourable to the party hostile to Jackson, and which had assumed a new and popular character. His temper and conduct were despotic, and by his vetoes he had dictated a series of leading legislative measures, in opposition to the decision of congress. They proclaimed liberty to be in danger, and, under the title of Whigs, came forward as its guardians. The people could not but recognize some truth in these

charges, and the stagnation of trade affected even the lowest ranks.

In the beginning of 1837, the second term of Jackson's rule having expired, he followed the usual course, and declined standing a third time. Van Buren, vice-president, attached to the same principles, was put forward by the party, who had still power sufficient to secure his election, though only by a majority of forty-three—one hundred and sixty-seven to one hundred and twenty-four. The latter number, from want of concert, was distributed among four candidates, of whom General Harrison had seventy-three.

Mr. Van Buren, with less energy, had a more moderate and prudent temper than his predecessor; but he inherited all the evils of the system, which, at his accession, had just reached their utmost height. The finances, from a state of such high prosperity, had sunk into extreme embarrassment. Jackson had boasted of the fidelity with which the state banks kept the deposits of public money; but now, when called upon for repayment, they "found it inconvenient to comply;" in short, they had embarked the money in speculation, and lost it. The customs had diminished with the decline of trade, and heavy extra expenses had been incurred by the Indian war and removal. The president was obliged in his inaugural address, to announce that a loan of six or rather ten millions of dollars would be necessary to meet the expenses of the year. Notwithstanding the lamentable failure of the state banks, he still repelled the idea of a national institution, but substituted a branch of the treasury to be employed in keeping the public money,—a measure considered as unduly increas

ing the influence of the executive, and at the same time by no means very secure.

In the end of 1837, the American cabinet was placed in a delicate situation by the posture of affairs in Canada. A long dispute between the legislature and the British government issued at length in open rebellion, which broke out at once both in the lower and upper province. A large body of American citizens on the frontier caught the infection, and, under the title of sympathizers, eagerly desired to make common cause with the insurgents. The president, seconded in congress by men of the most opposite parties, determined to enforce the strictest neutrality. He issued two successive orders, prohibiting all interference, and warning the people of the penalties they would incur by violating the law. As the border militia could not be trusted, a large body was ordered from the more peaceable districts of the interior, and placed under the command of General Scott.

The rising in both provinces was very quickly suppressed; but Mackenzie, the leader in Upper Canada, found at Buffalo a welcome reception. Some of the principal citizens including even military officers, determined, in defiance of their government, to support the cause. A band of refugees and sympathizers took possession of Navy Island, in the centre of the Niagara channel, which they fortified so strongly, that Sir Allan McNab, with the loyalist force, was unable to dislodge them. He employed, however, Captain Drew to seize and destroy the *Caroline*, a vessel employed in conveying to them provisions and stores. This attack, made while the vessel was moored near the American shore, was not only loudly exclaimed against by the sympathizers, but

complained of by the government as an invasion of the territory. General Scott having arrived and cut off from the island all supplies, while the British force was constantly augmenting, the invaders were obliged to evacuate the station. They continued, however, to make inroads at different points, both of Lower and Upper Canada, though without any success. These proceedings, being steadily discountenanced by the American cabinet, and arising evidently only out of the lawless character of the border population, did not cause any interruption in the good understanding between the two countries.

From another quarter some threat of collision arose. Owing to the vague terms of the treaty of 1783, there remained in dispute a large extent of country, between Maine on one side, and the British provinces of New Brunswick and Canada on the other. It formed at that time a mere tract of wild forest, scarcely trodden by a European; but as settlement and culture advanced, the fine timber with which it was clothed became an important object to both parties, especially the Americans. In 1829, an agreement was made to refer the question to the award of the King of Holland. He rendered it in 1831, declaring the impossibility of regulating any boundary according to the doubtful tenor of the treaty, but recommending one extending along the St. Croix, the St. John, and thence to the head of the Connecticut. All parties were disposed to acquiesce in this decision, except the senate, who rejected it as not made according to the terms of the treaty, but proposing a new and arbitrary line. Thus the question continued undecided, while it was assuming every day greater importance.

Trespassers from each side entered the territory to cut timber, and expeditions were sent to drive them off, which virtually took possession of the ground. One from New Brunswick made prisoner Mr. Macintyre, land-agent for Maine, and conveyed him to Fredericton. An armed body of two hundred from that state then entered, and carried off Mr. Maclauchlan, the British warder. Border collision seemed inevitable, when an agreement was made between Mr. Fox the British ambassador, and Mr Forsyth the American secretary of state, that the government of Maine should voluntarily withdraw its military force, and any future arrangements against trespassers be made by the two powers jointly. A convention to that effect was signed by the respective governors on the 23d and 25th of March, 1839.

Meantime the Whig party gained continually new strength, as the embarrassments imputed to the overthrow of the bank, and the attempts to introduce an exclusively gold currency, were more sensibly felt. All their efforts were concentrated as the period approached for the election of a new president. In order to prevent that division, which before had at least weakened the display of their strength, a national Whig convention was assembled at Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, to agree on some one candidate. Those proposed were General Harrison, Mr. Clay, and General Scott. After five successive ballots, the former was fixed upon, while Mr. Tyler, a Virginian, with a supposed leaning to the democratic side, was unanimously named for vice-president. Conventions, with assemblies and processions on a great scale, were held at Boston, Baltimore, Wheeling, and other places, to support this canvass.

These efforts were crowned with complete success. The election of Harrison was carried by a majority of two hundred and thirty-four to sixty; that of Tyler by a similar one. The former was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1841, and presently formed a ministry composed of leading members of the party who had raised him to power. Mr. Webster was named secretary for foreign affairs, and was expected to have the chief influence in the administration; while Mr. Everett was sent ambassador to England. The Whigs, who could also command decided though not large majorities in both houses, seemed to be entering on a long and secure tenure of power. These prospects were blasted by a very unexpected and melancholy event. The president, who had reached his sixty-ninth year, proved unequal to the fatigues of his arduous functions, and died on the 4th of April, just a month after commencing their exercise. The constitution then conferred the office upon Mr. Tyler, vice-president, who, by an arrangement which appears singular, yet is prevalent in America, was attached in a great degree to the opposite or democratic principles.

The new president, however, professed veneration for his predecessor, with an intention to tread in his footsteps, and to employ the same ministers. The party, therefore lost no time in bringing forward their favourite measure of a new national bank, the absence of which they considered one main cause of the recent distresses. Accordingly a bill for one on a plan nearly similar to the former, to be entitled a "fiscal bank," was passed by both houses. On being presented, however, to the president, he applied to it a decided veto, yet intimating a

disposition, to sanction an institution of which the nature and objects should be more limited. In the hope of meeting his views, the houses prepared another for what was to be termed a "fiscal corporation ;" but, on the 9th of September, it also was negatived. Nothing could then exceed the indignation and disgust of the whig party, who saw their immense efforts, made with such seeming success, entirely frustrated. All the members of the cabinet resigned, with the exception of Mr. Webster, who was supposed to remain with a view to conduct the then pending negotiation with Britain.

A singular circumstance had occurred to increase its difficulties. Mr. Macleod, on his way from Canada to New York, was arrested on the charge of having been concerned in the seizure of the *Caroline*, and the death of an American who fell in the conflict. The authorities, who were little disposed to engage in such a transaction, admitted him to bail ; but the mob at Lockport furiously rose, compelled the securities to withdraw their bond, and retained him in prison. The general government claimed his release, as being indicted for a political offence, for which the British ambassador undertook to answer ; but the supreme court of New York decided, that the two nations not having been at war, the present must be considered a common charge of murder, to be tried by the criminal court of the state. Thus affairs continued in an agitated and irritating position till the 12th of October, when a jury acquitted him as not having been concerned in the outrage.

In August, 1841, a new ministry was formed in Britain, at the head of which was Sir Robert Peel. One of the first objects to which they turned their attention

was the adjustment of the American boundary dispute. With this view a special mission was sent, composed of Lord Ashburton, head of the commercial house of Baring, one of the most distinguished in the country. His lordship arrived in 1842, and an active correspondence was immediately opened between him and Mr. Webster. Though encumbered with some difficulties, it was conducted on both sides with an earnest desire for a pacific termination. Accordingly, in August, 1842, a treaty was concluded, in which this long pending question was at length adjusted. The line was drawn nearly according to the award of the king of Holland, to which Britain, though not quite satisfied, had formerly given her consent, while America had rejected it; so that the concession was mainly on her part. The senate, after a debate of four days, ratified it by a majority of thirty-nine to nine.

During the years 1843 and '44, no important action, legislative or executive, could be taken, in consequence of the disagreement of the political views of the president with those of a majority in congress. Mr. Webster resigned the post of secretary of state, and the whig party became entirely alienated from the president. Many of the states continued to repudiate their debts, or at least ceased to pay either interest or principal. The consequence was, an aggravation of the embarrassment of the general government, whose proposals for a loan in Europe were peremptorily rejected.

On the 16th of January, 1845, the treaty negotiated with China was ratified by congress; and on the 28th of February Florida and Iowa were admitted into the Union of States. On the 1st of March, joint resolutions

were adopted by congress, and approved by the president, in favour of the annexation of Texas into the Union. The independence of Texas had not been acknowledged by the Mexican government, and the opposition statesmen predicted that serious consequences would follow this measure. On the 4th of March, James K. Polk, elected as the candidate of the democratic party, was inaugurated president of the Union. The new president was strongly in favour of the annexation of Texas.

The bill, annexing Texas to the Union, was passed by congress early in 1846. Soon after the dispute with Great Britain, upon the possession of Oregon territory, was settled by a treaty, the United States receding from the parallel of $54^{\circ} 40'$ to the parallel of 49° . The settlement of this difficulty was a matter of rejoicing on both sides of the Atlantic. Mexico continued hostile to the annexation of Texas, and expressed her determination to reconquer it. Occasional attacks upon the frontier settlers were made by parties of Mexicans and Indians, who acted under the Mexican control. A detachment of United States troops, under Colonel Taylor, were ordered to take a position at Corpus Christi, west of the river Neuces, as early as August, 1844. This "Army of Observation," as it was called, remained at Corpus Christi until the 11th of March, 1846, when Colonel Taylor was ordered to move westward, and take a position on the Rio Grande, claimed as the western boundary of Texas. The force under his command reached the Rio Grande on the 20th of March. Some disposition being shown by the Mexicans to resist his progress, Colonel Taylor was notified that if he attempted to cross





BATTLE OF RESACA DE LA PALMA.

the Colorado, it would be considered as a declaration of war. The crossing took place, however, and the army marched to the Rio Grande, and took up a position opposite Matamoras.

The Mexican general at Matamoras refusing to communicate with Colonel Taylor, that officer ordered intrenchments to be thrown up, and commenced the erection of a fort upon the Rio Grande. Several Americans were murdered by the small detachments of guerrillas, acting under Mexican authority. Among these were Colonel Cross and Lieutenant Porter. Point Isabel, at the mouth of the Rio Grande, was taken possession of by the United States forces, and made a depot for military stores. Leaving a detachment, under Major Brown, in the fort opposite Matamoras, the army of Colonel Taylor advanced to Point Isabel. The Mexican general then crossed the Rio Grande with a large force, and cut off the communication between the two posts. A fire was opened upon the fort from the town of Matamoras, and returned with effect. A fire was then opened upon it from a battery in the rear, planted by the Mexicans during the night.

The situation of this small force was extremely critical. There was every probability that both posts would be overwhelmed by the known numbers of the Mexicans. But Colonel Taylor was equal to the emergency. He determined to march from Point Isabel to Fort Brown, as it was called, and to fight any force which might oppose his progress. He left Point Isabel on the evening of the 7th of May, and on the 8th, at two o'clock, found the Mexicans in position near a stream called Palo Alto. The whole strength of General Taylor's force was two

thousand three hundred men, with three batteries of artillery. The Mexicans numbered about six thousand men, with seven pieces of artillery, and eight hundred cavalry. The battle lasted five hours. The Mexicans were dislodged from their position, and the United States forces encamped upon the field. As the Mexicans were driven back, it was thought they had crossed the Rio Grande. The next day General Taylor resolved to push on. He started at two o'clock in the afternoon, and marched till within three miles of Fort Brown. The Mexicans were again found to be posted in a strong position, at Resaca de la Palma. The battle was a series of brilliant skirmishes and successful charges. The Mexicans were driven from their position and pursued to the river. The victory was complete. The Mexicans lost about five hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the greater portion of their artillery. The loss of the Americans was about one hundred and fifty men, killed and wounded, among whom were some valuable and much lamented officers. The victory was chiefly owing to the excellent management of the American artillery.

The little garrison at Fort Brown met with a timely relief from the victorious Americans. They had withstood a terrible fire for four or five days, but with little loss. On the 18th of May, General Taylor crossed the Rio Grande, and took possession of Matamoras without firing a gun. General Arista had retreated with his whole force to the town of Reynosa. Though in possession of Matamoras, the strength of General Taylor's army did not warrant his advance into the country; nor had he means of transportation. Reinforcements came

in slowly, and it was not till the end of June, that the wishes of the general were so far satisfied that he had confidence to march for the interior. The Texan rangers, under Captain McCulloch, captured the Mexican towns of Mier, Camargo, and Reynosa, without meeting opposition. On the 5th of August, General Taylor took up his line of march from Matamoras for Monterey, in which strong fortress the Mexicans were concentrating their forces.

General Twiggs was left in command at Matamoras, and General Worth led the advance troops. On the 7th of September, the whole army reached Seralvo. Disencumbering his troops of all unnecessary baggage, General Taylor pushed on eagerly to Monterey. His force was about six thousand men,—a light one when it is considered that Monterey was strongly fortified by nature and art, and garrisoned by about ten thousand men, under General Ampudia.

The attack was conducted by General Taylor and General Worth, at the head of different divisions. The siege lasted three days, and was marked by the most undaunted bravery and skill on the part of the United States forces, and by obstinate bravery on the part of the besieged. The fighting continued without intermission from the afternoon of the 20th till the night of the 23d of September, and the proposals for the surrender were not made until the besiegers had forced their way into the very heart of the city. The Mexicans then capitulated upon favourable terms, and evacuated the city as the American forces entered it. General Taylor took up his quarters in Monterey. His loss was severe, and he did not feel strong enough to move on.

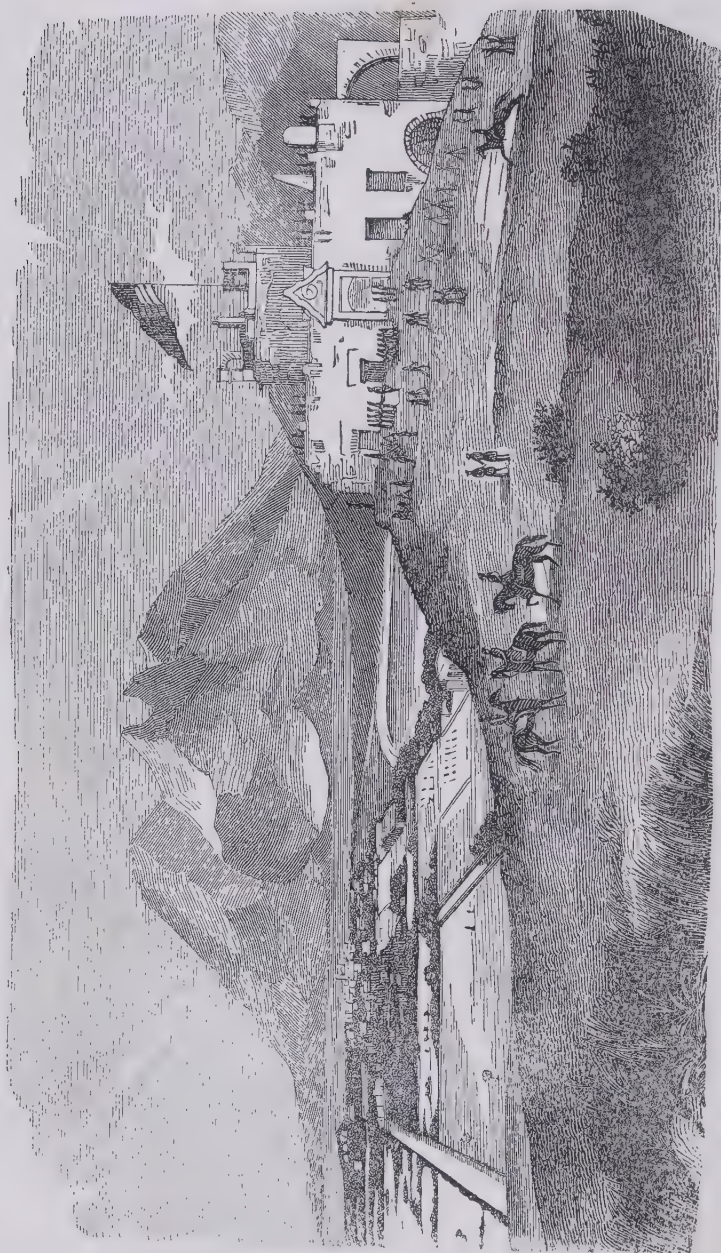
By the terms of the capitulation, there was an armistice of eight weeks agreed upon by the two commanding generals; but the government of the United States, was opposed to the armistice, and sent orders to General Taylor to recommence hostilities. Accordingly, General Taylor notified Santa Anna, who had taken command of the Mexican forces, of the termination of the armistice. The Mexicans, in their retreat from Monterey, destroyed every thing upon the route which could contribute to the subsistence of the invading army. They hoped to retrieve their affairs by placing a desert between them and their foes, and they made every exertion to raise and equip a large army. Santa Anna soon found himself at the head of an army of more than twenty thousand men, and he was thought by the Mexicans to be invincible.

As General Taylor left Monterey, and moved forward to Victoria, he received a requisition from General Winfield Scott, commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, for the greater portion of his regular troops to join the forces destined for the attack on Vera Cruz and the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa. These troops were the flower of General Taylor's army, and the veterans of his victories, and he parted from them with deep regret. After their departure, General Taylor returned to Monterey, where he remained, till the arrival of volunteers swelled his force to about five thousand men. With this strength, he left Monterey, determined to keep upon the offensive, and to meet the enemy on their own ground.

On the 20th of February, General Taylor's army reached Agua Nueva, eighteen miles from Saltillo. But

STORMING OF MONTEREY.





VIEW OF MONTEREY AND THE BISHOP'S PALACE.

on the approach of the vastly superior force of Santa Anna, he fell back to a strong position near Buena Vista. Here he awaited the threatened attack. His main reliance was upon his artillery. The Mexican general, besides thirty pieces of cannon, had about six thousand cavalry and fifteen thousand infantry. The attack began on the evening of the 22d by an attempt to force the left of the Americans. This, however, was repulsed. The contest began in earnest on the morning of the 23d. The Americans were under the command of General Wool, General Taylor having gone to Saltillo, during the night. The Mexicans succeeded in forcing the left of the Americans, in spite of the most determined efforts of the troops posted there, and it was thought the day was lost, when General Taylor arrived upon the field and restored the battle by his skilful dispositions and the confident reliance of his men. Three times did the Mexican hosts almost succeed in crushing the small force, but each time were they saved by the boldness, rapidity and skill of their unrivalled artillery. At length, the Mexicans were driven back for the third time with tremendous slaughter, and night closed upon the field of battle, and the Americans sank down exhausted. Every disposition was made by the undaunted Taylor to meet a renewal of the attack in the morning. But when the morning came, the Mexican forces had retreated, satisfied with their reception. The loss of Santa Anna's troops in this great battle was about two thousand men, killed and wounded. The loss of the Americans was nearly eight hundred killed and wounded; among these were sixty-five officers, or one-fourth of the number upon the field.

Soon after the battle of Buena Vista, General Taylor fell back to Monterey, where he fixed his head-quarters. General Wool was left at Buena Vista with a large part of the army. Nothing of a very important character occurred in this quarter during the remainder of the war. The campaign was glorious to the forces engaged in it, and raised the reputation of General Taylor to such a height, that he was named in many parts of the United States as a candidate for the Presidency.

In order to carry out an important part of the plan of operations which the government had formed, the President ordered General Kearny, an officer of tried courage and skill, to raise an army of volunteers, not to exceed three thousand in number, which, being united with the regulars at Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri river, were to be called "the Army of the West." With this force, General Kearny was to proceed against New Mexico and California.

After much preparation, the "army of the west," started from Fort Leavenworth on the 30th of June, 1846, and on the 29th of July, arrived at Bent's Fort, having travelled a distance of one hundred and sixty three miles. Here the remainder of the troops joined General Kearny, and he pushed on for Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico. Proclamations were issued to the people of New Mexico, informing them of the object of the expedition and the treatment they might expect if peaceably disposed. The desert character of the country upon the route was the only difficulty the "army of the west" met with. The inhabitants were either indifferent as to what government they owed allegiance or disposed to regard the invaders

favourably. Kearny reached Santa Fe on the 18th of August. Being assured of the attachment of the New Mexicans, he appointed George Bent civil governor, and caused a code of laws to be prepared for the government of the country. Treaties were concluded with the formidable Apache and Navajo Indians, who had long been the terror of the New Mexicans.

On the 25th of September, General Kearny left Santa Fe to march across the country to Upper California. He took with him three hundred dragoons; but receiving intelligence that California had already been conquered by Commodore Stockton and Colonel Fremont, he sent back all but one hundred men, whom he retained as a guard. He then marched eleven hundred miles through an unknown country, defeated a superior force of mounted Californians, whom he met upon the frontier of that territory, and succeeded in reaching San Diego, upon the Pacific coast.

In the mean time, Colonel Doniphan, with about five hundred mounted riflemen, left Valverde, in New Mexico, to open a communication with General Wool, at Chihuahua. Near the town of El Paso, he was attacked by twelve hundred Mexicans, with two pieces of artillery. This large force was easily defeated, with the loss, in killed and wounded, of about two hundred men, and their artillery and stores. At El Paso Doniphan received a reinforcement, which increased his detachment to one thousand men, with six pieces of artillery. On the 11th of February this force started for Chihuahua. On the banks of the Sacramento, in a strong position, four thousand Mexicans had posted themselves, with the intention of resisting the progress of the force under Doniphan.

But their works were carried with a trifling loss, by the western riflemen, and a most brilliant victory obtained. The battle was fought on the 28th of February, 1847, and it lasted three hours. The Mexicans suffered a severe loss. On the second day after the battle, the wearied invaders made a triumphal entry into Chihuahua; but they were disappointed in not finding General Wool at that town. It was determined in council, that the whole force should move on to Saltillo, where General Taylor was then stationed; and, accordingly, on the 25th of April, the army left Chihuahua, for Saltillo, a distance of nine hundred miles, which was accomplished in forty-five days. This great march, through a hostile and unknown country, will stand as one of the most remarkable in history.

When General Kearny arrived in Upper California, an insurrection had broken out; and the Californians, despising the small force of sailors and marines, which, under Commodore Stockton's command, had taken possession of the territory, had raised a large body of mounted men, who were placed under the command of General Flores. As soon as Kearny's dragoons had recruited from the fatigues of their march, he took command of the whole force the Americans could muster, and on the 29th of December, 1846, marched from San Diego towards Los Angeles, with six hundred men mostly sailors and marines. After marching one hundred and ten miles, they found the Californians posted upon the banks of the Rio San Gabriel. The Californians numbered about six hundred men, and had four pieces of artillery. On the 8th of January, the Americans crossed the river, and after an action of one hour and a

half, drove the enemy from the field, and encamped upon it. The next morning they resumed their march. On the plains of Mesa another effort was made to save the "City of the Angels." The artillery opened upon the Americans in front, and the cavalry charged upon their flank; but they were repulsed, and they then retired. The Americans encamped three miles from the capital, and, on the 10th of January, entered the city without opposition. The loss of the Californians in the two battles was between seventy and eighty, killed and wounded; that of the Americans was very slight—only one man killed, and two officers and eleven privates wounded. The forces of the Californians dispersed soon after these two battles; and their governor, Don Andreas Pico, surrendered to Colonel Fremont, as that officer was on his way to Los Angeles.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CAMPAIGN OF GENERAL SCOTT'S ARMY.

As another portion of the plan of operations against Mexico, General Winfield Scott was ordered to proceed to the seat of war, and, if he deemed it practicable, to set on foot an expedition against the gulf coast. All the details were left to be prosecuted according to the best judgment of the commander-in-chief. In pursuance of orders, General Scott sailed from New York on the 30th of November, and reached the Rio Grande on the 31st of January. The great object of the new army was the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, and the city of Vera Cruz. A combined attack of the land and naval forces was arranged between General Scott and Commodore Conner. The squadron was in readiness, but it was not till February, 1847, that the troops detached from the army under General Taylor reached General Scott. The army then numbered twelve thousand men.

The city of Vera Cruz, situated upon the spot where Cortes landed in 1519, was very strongly fortified, being surrounded by a stone wall, defended by nine towers, mounting together one hundred cannon. The castle of San Juan de Ulloa is one of the strongest fortresses in the world. It is built upon a bar in front of Vera Cruz, at the distance of one thousand Castilian varas from the town. It is in the shape of a polygon, and its walls

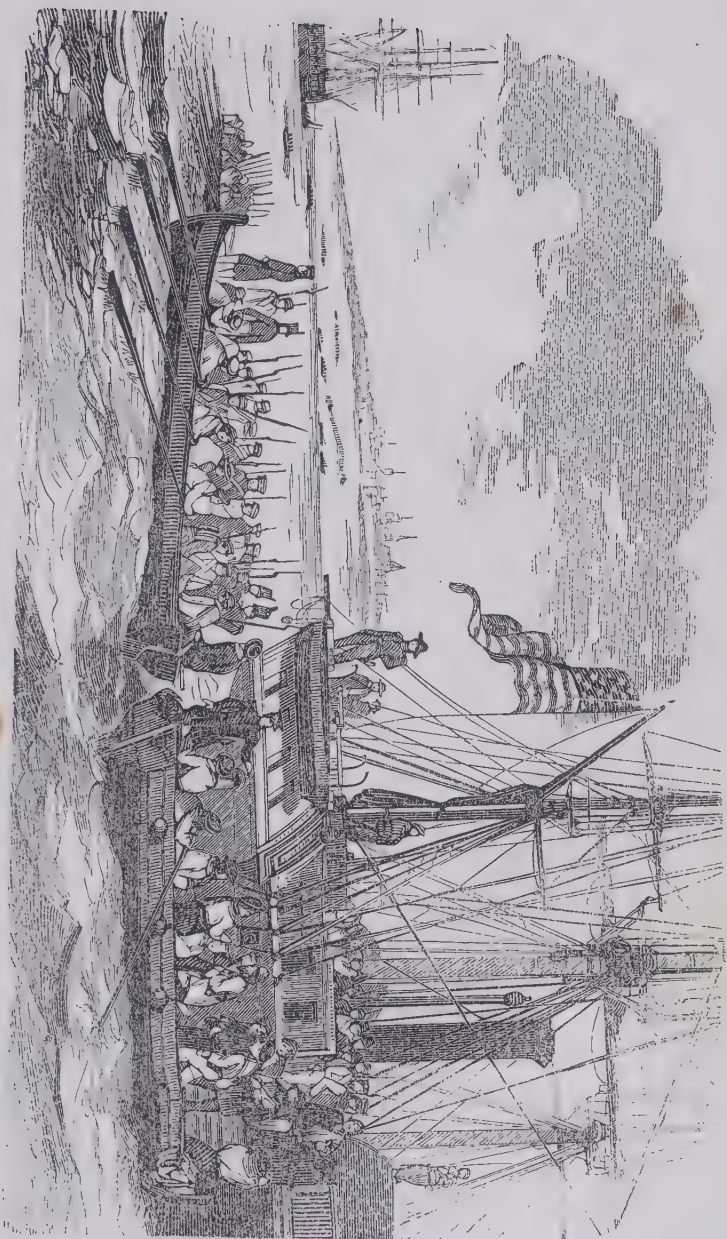
are from four to five yards thick. The full equipment of the castle is three hundred and seventy pieces of cannon. It was considered impregnable.

The beach west of the Isle of Sacrificios was selected by the two commanders as the landing place for the troops. The landing took place on the 9th of March. No opposition was attempted, and no accident occurred during the transfer of the troops to the sandy beach. Four thousand men, under General Worth, were thrown on shore almost simultaneously, and before sunset had occupied the neighbouring heights. On the 22d of March, the lines having been formed around the town, and a sufficient number of mortars being in battery, General Scott sent a summons to surrender to the governor of the city. At the end of two hours, the time limited by the bearer of the flag, the refusal of the governor was received, and General Scott ordered the mortars to be opened upon the city. At the same time, the smaller vessels of the squadron neared the castle, and opened a brisk fire. This was continued until the next morning, when Commodore Perry, who had relieved Commodore Conner, prudently ordered them to retire from their daring position. New batteries were opened upon the city, and it was evident they did much execution. The fire was returned from the castle and city, but with little effect. A tremendous fire upon the strong works was kept up until the 26th of March, when proposals for a capitulation were received from General Llandero, the Mexican commander. Commissioners were appointed on both sides, to arrange the terms, and every thing being agreed upon, the surrender took place on the 29th of March. By the terms of the capitulation, the Mexi-

can army marched out of the city to the sound of their national music, passed between the American lines, and, after laying down their arms and colours, marched for the interior. The Americans then entered the city to the sound of the national music, and the American flag was hoisted upon the castle of San Juan de Ulloa. Thus were these strong and well-provided fortresses captured, with a very trifling loss on the part of the besiegers. The city was much battered, and a large number of the soldiers and inhabitants were killed and wounded.

Vera Cruz was found to be in a filthy and unhealthy condition, and the commander-in-chief determined to delay as short time as possible, before marching for the interior. Accordingly, on the 8th of April, the army left Vera Cruz and took up its march for the Mexican capital. It was known that Santa Anna was in the neighbourhood, and the intelligence of his repulse at Buena Vista, had excited a spirit of emulation in the troops under Scott. As the United States forces advanced, Santa Anna, having collected a force of about twelve thousand men, took up a position at Sierra Gordo where he awaited the onset. This position was one of immense natural strength. The road from Vera Cruz, as it passes the Plan del Rio, is commanded by a series of high cliffs, extending along the road for several miles, rising one above another. These cliffs were completely covered with forts and batteries, and the principal fort, Sierra Gordo, commanded the road, so as to render the approach in that direction almost impossible. But the Mexicans relying upon the known desperate valour their opponents had before exhibited, believed that they would now attempt the front attack.

LANDING AT VERA CRUZ.





With the eye of a skilful general, Scott perceived the folly of a front attack, and resolved to avoid it. The whole attack was planned with the most consummate skill. He ordered the opening of a new road upon the left flank of this position, and sent the division under General Twiggs, to turn it. On the 18th of April, the army moved to the attack in two divisions, and their success was rapid and decisive. By two o'clock, P. M. the enemy were driven from their position, and pursued for many miles. Four generals and about six thousand men were taken prisoners; thirty pieces of cannon, a large quantity of ammunition, together with the baggage and money-chest of Santa Anna, containing twenty thousand dollars were also the fruits of the victory. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was two hundred and fifty men.

On the 19th of April, the city of Jalapa was taken by General Twiggs without opposition, and on the 21st, General Worth entered Perote. At the latter place, an immense quantity of ammunition and stores, with all the large guns of the city and castle were taken. On the 15th of May, the advance division, under Worth, took possession of the large city of Puebla, Santa Anna retreating as Worth approached. At Puebla a halt was made, until the main body, under Scott, came up. The march was resumed on the 8th of August. After passing round Lake Chalco by an unfrequented road, thus avoiding two strong fortresses, the army reached San Augustin, twelve miles south of the city of Mexico, on the 18th of August.

Here the real battles of the war were to begin. All the former achievements of the American forces were

insignificant in comparison; and the genius of the commander-in-chief and the valour of the troops will be conspicuous in the most general notice of them. San Augustin is in the north of a broken volcanic valley. On the rocks bordering the west side of the valley was the strong post of Contreras, which the Mexicans had fortified in the most careful manner and furnished with a large garrison. About the same distance north of San Augustin, and on the same road was the fortress of Churubusco, also fortified in the strongest manner. West of this, on the road leading to Contreras is San Angel, and east of that, San Pablo. These were the points of attack during the great battles of the 19th and 20th of August.

The force which moved to attack Contreras, numbered only three thousand two hundred men, under the command of General Smith. They marched from the village of Encelda about three o'clock on the morning of the 20th, the brigade of Colonel Riley leading the van. Owing to the difficulties of the ground the detachment was extended over about three miles during the march. Upon reaching the favourable point, Riley formed his brigade into two columns, and throwing some skirmishers forward, he shouted to his men to follow, and rushed towards the fort, followed by his whole command. The fire of the Mexican batteries was tremendous, and this charge in the face of it is one of the most brilliant actions of the war. The remainder of Smith's troops became so enthusiastic that they defied all discipline. Through the murderous storm, Riley hurried his shattered column, and finished the struggle with the bayonet. Every battery in the fort was silenced, the Mexicans were

driven in huge masses from the walls, and being attacked outside by the troops with the bayonet, a terrible slaughter ensued. Amid the cheers of the victors, General Scott arrived and took command of the forces. In this great battle, three thousand men, without guns or cavalry, drove twice their number from a fortress considered impregnable, and provided with every requisite of defensive warfare ; captured fifteen hundred men, including several generals, killed seven hundred, and wounded a still greater number.

Churubusco was the next point of attack. This hamlet, besides a fortified convent, presented a strong field-work, with regular bastions and curtains, at the head of a bridge over which the road passes to the capital. The whole remaining force of Mexico, about twenty-seven thousand men, was now collected in and about these works, resolved to make a desperate stand. The whole American army was engaged at the different points of attack, and the battle was obstinately and bravely contested. But one after another, the various positions were carried by the indomitable valour of the assailants. The Mexicans were routed in all directions, and the fugitives pursued even to the gates of the capital. About four thousand men were killed or wounded on the part of the Mexicans, and there were three thousand taken prisoners. A large number of pieces of cannon and a great quantity of stores fell to the victors. The loss of the assailants during the day, at both Contreras and Churubusco, was one thousand and fifty-two killed and wounded.

General Scott wisely resolved to recruit his troops before advancing upon the capital, although they were

eager to move on at once. The castle of Chapultepec was still before him, capable of making a vigorous defence. But he was enabled to have a longer rest than he calculated. He received a flag of truce from Santa Anna, requesting an armistice, which was granted, both generals being desirous of peace. Negotiations were begun at once; but the question of the boundary of Texas interfered. Upon that point the Mexicans seemed determined to stand by the claim they had asserted when the war commenced. In the mean time, some infractions of the truce were made by the Mexicans, and hostilities were resumed by both sides on the 7th of September.

On the day previous to the termination of the truce, General Scott received intelligence that an immense quantity of ammunition and a large number of guns were deposited at the foundry of Casa Mata; and as soon as the truce ended, he resolved to attack that place. A reconnoissance of the works, by which it was protected, proved unsatisfactory. The defences were so skilfully masked, that the closest scrutiny could not discover their full extent. The execution of the plan of attack was given to General Worth, with three thousand two hundred men. The assault began on the morning of the 8th, and, although the fire of the Mexican batteries, before masked, was terrible and destructive, and their forces were very far superior, such was the ardour of the assailants, that the works were carried in a few hours after the commencement of the assault. The Casa Mata was blown up, and a large quantity of stores were destroyed; but the spoils of the victors were great. It was proved that in this battle the Mexicans had fourteen thousand men, in works deemed impregnable. Their

loss was about three thousand killed and wounded, and eight hundred prisoners. The victory cost the Americans dear: besides being numerically great, the list contained some valuable officers.

The capture of Molino del Rey, as the work protecting the Casa Mata was called, cut off the communication between the castle of Chapultepec and the capital. To storm this castle was the next object; and it was the first of a series of brilliant achievements, to which General Scott gives the general title of the Battle of Mexico.

Immediately after the victory of the 8th of September, General Scott reconnoitred the ground in the vicinity of the capital, and the principal works of the enemy. This service was, in point of danger, equal to a battle. The defences of the city were of a character to dismay a general of ordinary skill and experience. It stands upon a slight swell of ground, near the centre of an irregular basin, and was then girdled with a ditch in its greatest extent, a navigable canal of great breadth and depth, very difficult to bridge in presence of an enemy, having eight entrances or gates, over arches, each of which was defended by a system of strong works, that seemed to require nothing but some men and guns to be impregnable. An attack upon the southern part of the city might have been successful; but in General Scott's opinion, it would have cost many lives, and he resolved to avoid it. His plan of attack was masterly, and fully displayed his scientific abilities. Though he did not attack the city upon the south, a feint was made in that quarter, which prevented the enemy from removing their guns to the other points of attack.

The first part of the plan of General Scott was to carry

the castle of Chapultepec. This castle was situated on an isolated mound of great height, strongly fortified at its base and on its acclivities and heights. Besides a numerous garrison, it contained a military college, with a large number of students. Artillery was planted in many favourable positions by the orders of Scott, and opened on the castle early on the 12th of September, and the fire of heavy guns and shells continued all day. At the same time, Twiggs plied his guns upon the south side of the city to prevent the arrival of reinforcements at Chapultepec. The bombardment and cannonade of the castle was so severe, that the Mexicans, with the exception of a number sufficient to manage, left the works, and formed upon a secure position on the hill, whence they could easily return. At night, the fire of the assailants ceased; but it was seen that it had done great execution. On the morning of the 13th, the guns re-opened upon the castle, and Twiggs re-opened his fire upon the strong works of the south side of the city.

The storming parties of troops consisted of two columns; one led by General Pillow and the other by General Quitman. The signal for their march was the cessation of fire from the heavy batteries. At about eight o'clock, on the 13th, the signal was given, and the assailing parties moved into position, and every thing being in readiness, rushed forward to the attack. The Mexicans opened all their batteries, and their fire was tremendous. The Americans pushed on and drove the enemy from the woods at the foot of the hill, and then commenced the ascent. Pillow being wounded, Cadwallader led his troops. Over rocks and chasms they ascended amid the storm of death, driving the enemy

from one redoubt to another for shelter, and following the retreat so close as to prevent the firing of the mines prepared. The castle walls were soon reached, and after a short struggle the American colours floated from them in two or three places. But the fight was bloodiest upon the side assaulted by Quitman. The strong works at the foot of the hill were only carried after an obstinate hand to hand struggle. The troops arrived at the top of the hill after Pillow's division had reached it. Every thing was soon in the hands of the Americans, most of the Mexicans being driven down the hill on the north and west sides of the castle. General Bravo, a veteran soldier, six brigadier generals, and a large number of officers and men were taken prisoners. The whole strength of the garrison of Chapultepec was six thousand men, of whom they lost about eighteen hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Considering the strength of the place, the loss of its captors was not severe in number, but included some valuable officers.

The capture of Chapultepec opened the road to the western and southern portions of the city. General Scott determined to follow up the victory at once. He mounted to the top of the castle of Chapultepec, where he could see the whole field of operations, and control the assault upon the capital. The assaulting columns were led by Worth and Quitman. Worth was to attack the San Cosme gate, and Quitman to take the Tacubaya road. It would be impossible to give any idea of the complicated movements and victories of the American forces without going too much into detail. It will be sufficient to say, that after the most tremendous exertions, and the hardest fighting, the strong fortress at the gate

of San Cosme was carried, and General Worth, who had been joined by General Scott, entered the city of Mexico in that direction; and that General Quitman, after an equally obstinate conflict, carried the Belen gate, and entered the city at that point. Santa Anna commanded in person at the Belen gate. At night the firing ceased. Batteries and breastworks were erected during the night by the Americans, and every thing prepared for an obstinate battle upon the next day.

About dawn, on the 14th of September, a white flag came from the citadel to General Quitman, the bearer of which invited the American general to take possession of the fortress, and stated that the city had been abandoned by Santa Anna and his whole army. The citadel was immediately taken and garrisoned, and Quitman despatched an officer to plant the American flag in the grand plaza in front of the National Palace. The Palace, itself, was taken and garrisoned.

Early on the 14th a deputation from the city arrived at General Scott's quarters, and reported that the army and government had left the city, and demanded, in the name of the council, terms of capitulation in favour of the church, the citizens, and authorities. This Scott refused, as the city had been in his possession several hours. The terms imposed by the general were, in substance, that the city should be laid under martial law, that a contribution of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars should be levied upon the capital, and that no rent was to be paid by the United States for buildings occupied by the troops, without a special direction. No private house was to be occupied by the American troops without the consent of the owner; and the collection of

GENERAL SCOTT ENTERING THE CITY OF MEXICO.



duties at the gates of the city was to be continued in the hands of the Mexicans. General Quitman was appointed civil and military governor. Soon after, the whole army entered the city of Mexico in triumph. About two thousand liberated convicts had stationed themselves upon the roofs of houses and in the windows, with arms in their hands, and as the Americans entered the city, they were fired upon by the lawless ones, in spite of the exertions of the regular authorities. After the Americans had lost many men in killed and wounded, the assailants were driven from their positions and quiet restored. General Scott then took up his quarters in the city.

The total loss sustained by the army of Scott in this rapid and decisive campaign, was two thousand seven hundred and three men, including three hundred and eighty-three officers. Deducting the killed, wounded, and sick, and the various garrisons, the army that took possession of the capital numbered only six thousand men ! The fruits of the various victories were valuable and extensive. More than one hundred and seventy pieces of ordnance, and great quantities of all kinds of stores rewarded the toils of the invaders.

The only important event which occurred after the capture of the Mexican capital, was the siege of Puebla by Santa Anna. A small garrison, under Colonel Childs, had been left in the works at that city, and they were burdened with eighteen hundred sick. The works were bombarded and cannonaded from the 25th of September till the 12th of October, when the garrison was relieved by the arrival of General Lane, with a considerable reinforcement. This was the longest-continued action of

the war, and the garrison deserved all the praise they received for their noble defence.

Soon after the capture of Mexico, a difficulty occurred between the commander-in-chief and his inferior officers. General Scott alleged that Generals Worth and Pillow had violated a regulation of the army, and put them under arrest. The president of the United States sided with the inferior officers, suspended General Scott from his command, and appointed Major-General Butler in his stead. Whether this was an act worthy of the government, was a question violently discussed at the time.

In January, 1848, Mr. Trist, the commissioner appointed by the president of the United States, laid before the Mexican authorities the basis of a treaty. By the provisions of this treaty, the important territories of Upper California and New Mexico, with the Rio Grande boundary of Texas, the object of the war, was ceded to the United States, in consideration of fifteen millions of dollars. The Mexican government appointed commissioners, and negotiations were opened at Guadalupe Hidalgo. The result was a treaty of peace, friendship, and limits between the two governments. The senate of the United States ratified the treaty with some amendments, on the 10th of March, and being sent back to Mexico, it was ratified by the congress of that country on the 25th of May. The news of peace was received by both nations with congratulations and every manifestation of satisfaction. Preparations were made immediately for the evacuation of Mexico by the United States troops. The greater portion of the army arrived at New Orleans by the middle of June, 1848.

CHAPTER XVII.

CLOSE OF POLK'S ADMINISTRATION, AND ADMINISTRATION OF
TAYLOR.

THE history of the Union during Mr. Polk's administration was very eventful, and the business of the government consequently arduous. The measures of the Democratic party were carried out as far as practicable; the tariff was considerably reduced, though the measure met with a powerful opposition; the annexation of Texas was consummated, as expected, and produced the consequences predicted; and the sub-treasury and the warehousing system were both established.

The congressional proceedings were marked by some rather novel features. During the latter part of the Mexican war, there existed a whig majority in the house of representatives. The great body of that party considered the war as unjust and unnecessary, and attempts were even made to withhold the requisite supplies for carrying it on. But these gave way under the opposition of patriotism, and all considerations of justice were swallowed in the general rejoicing at the numerous victories gained over the Mexicans. The expenses of the war had greatly increased the public debt, but it was thought this was returned in the valu-

able territories of California and New Mexico, acquired by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

In the latter part of 1848, intelligence was received at Washington, of the discovery of great quantities of gold in Upper California, which, by the treaty of peace, had been ceded to the United States. The official despatch of Governor Mason, expressed the opinion that there was more gold in the region of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, than would pay the cost of the Mexican war a hundred times over. The existence of the gold in the beds of the streams was accidentally discovered in the month of May, 1848, while digging a mill-race near Sutter's Fort, on the American fork of the Sacramento. The intelligence spread with startling rapidity, and rumors of the discovery reached the Atlantic States, before the official despatch of the governor; but they were not generally believed. The official intelligence removed all doubts. A new impulse was given to all kinds of trade and business, and emigration crowded every route to the El Dorado. A new market was opened upon the Pacific, and great quantities of merchandise were shipped from the States. In a few months after the news of the gold discovery reached the Atlantic States, San Francisco became a large town, and its harbour was filled with a large number of vessels. Towns sprang up as if by magic in the vicinity of the gold region. Gold was the universal object, and the seekers met an ample reward in digging and washing the sands of the gulches of the Sierra Nevada. The whole character of the territory of California was changed by the discovery; and from a poor grazing country it be

came a point towards which the eyes of all commercial nations were turned.

In November, 1848, the Presidential election occurred. The candidates of the Whigs were General Zachary Taylor, and Millard Fillmore; those of the Democrats were Lewis Cass, and General William O. Butler. A new party was organized in the Northern States, in favour of prohibiting by congressional enactment, the extension of slavery into the free territories. Its candidates were Martin Van Buren, and Charles F. Adams. General Taylor and Millard Fillmore were successful, each receiving one hundred and sixty electoral votes.

The new president entered upon the duties of his office in 1849. His inaugural address was short, but eloquent and comprehensive. John M. Clayton, of Delaware was appointed Secretary of State. A new department had been created during the previous session of Congress, to relieve the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury from a portion of their arduous duties. It was called the Home Department, and Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, was appointed to discharge its duties.

Upon the opening of the Congressional session of 1848, there was a government majority in the House of Representatives, but an opposition majority in the Senate. The message of the President was brief, but it sufficiently indicated the moderate course he intended to pursue. The question of prohibiting slavery in the territories was the continual subject of exciting discussion. Bills providing territorial governments for California and New Mexico, were introduced into the Senate, but the determined opposition of northern men to the passage of any

bill of that nature without the addition of a proviso prohibiting the existence of slavery, prevented both of those territories from securing a government during the session. Much violent feeling was displayed on both sides. After the adjournment of Congress, a caucus of the members from the Southern States, was held in Washington, and an address prepared by John C. Calhoun was adopted as the sentiment of the member. This address was issued to the people of the Southern States and complained of various acts of aggression upon the rights of slave holders by the people of the free States. The effect of this address was to increase the excitement, and threats of disunion were freely and boldly made.

But matters were still worse when Congress met in December, 1849. By the preceeding election, parties became equally balanced in the House of Representatives. The contest in the election of a speaker lasted six weeks. The most prominent candidates were Howell Cobb, of Georgia, and Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts. At last, Howell Cobb was elected by a very small majority. The election of a speaker did not end the excitement. The ultras upon both sides of the slavery question introduced that subject in all debates. The population of California had increased so fast, and the want of a certain form of government was felt so deeply in the territory, that a convention of delegates assembled at Monterey, and framed a constitution, to which was prefixed a declaration of rights, in which slavery was forever prohibited. Application was made to Congress for admission into the Union, as a State; but the southern members were determined in their opposition to it, principally because it would give the free States a ma-

jority in the Senate of the Union. To settle the controversy as far as possible, Henry Clay, one of the oldest and most eminent men in Congress, offered a series of resolutions, uniting in one bill, the admission of California and several other measures, to conciliate both parties.

These resolutions were referred to a committee of thirteen members of the senate, who reported a compromise bill, based upon the propositions offered by Mr. Clay. The discussion upon this bill lasted two months, and the ablest talent in the country was called forth by it. The president was known to be opposed to the scheme ; and, in a message to congress, he recommended the admission of California independent of all other measures. This policy was satisfactory to the ultras of both sections. The compromise bill was defeated, and soon after the California bill passed the senate.

During the exciting discussions upon the Compromise Bill, the nation was called upon to mourn the loss of its chief magistrate. President Taylor died on the 9th of July, 1850. He was sixty-six years old, and had been in office little more than fifteen months. Whatever may have been the difference of opinion in respect to the policy of his administration, men of all parties bore testimony to his sincerity and simplicity of heart as a man, his boldness and skill as a general, and his sterling good sense as a president. His last words were expressive of the character of his life,—“I have endeavoured to do my duty.” By the provisions of the constitution, General Taylor was succeeded by the vice-president, Millard Fillmore. He was put at the head of affairs at a critical moment in the history of the nation ; but being

a man of ability and energy, he is expected to fill the office successfully. Immediately upon the accession of Mr. Fillmore, the cabinet appointed by General Taylor tendered their resignations. This measure was rendered necessary by an understood difference of opinion between the different members of the cabinet and the new president, as well upon the Compromise Bill of the senate, as upon other measures.

The state of the country in 1850 afforded great matter for reflection and discussion among the statesmen of the Union. A large and powerful state had grown up on the Pacific coast within three years, and its commerce, and mineral and metallic resources had added greatly to the wealth and power of the Union. Her territory extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and is more than four thousand miles in breadth at its greatest extent. It includes nearly every variety of soil and climate—from the desert to the fields of tropical luxuriance—from the region of constant cold to the region of constant summer. Her population includes all varieties of character and interest. But to this last, if at all, will the Union owe its dissolution. Such variety of interests can only be reconciled by compromise, and where these interests are at opposite extremes, such compromise is difficult of consummation, if at all possible. The exciting manifestations of violence during the discussion of the Compromise Bill in the senate, are fruitful lessons to the reflective.

The external policy of the United States government has been marked, during the administration of General Taylor, by an earnest desire to maintain peace with all nations, as far as consistent with the maintenance of the

national honour. Some attempts were made by expeditions, set on foot in the southern states, to revolutionize the island of Cuba, and then get it annexed to the United States; but these attempts were promptly put down by the president, and the neutrality laws maintained inviolate. Some difficulty occurred with the French minister, and he was dismissed; but the government of France soon supplied his place with another, and thus acknowledged the justice of his dismissal. A difficulty was apprehended between the government of Great Britain and the United States, concerning the Nicaragua right of way; but the question was settled by treaty between Mr. Clayton and the British minister, the terms of which treaty were advantageous to the United States. An earnest desire existed among the people that the government should, in some way, succour the heroic Hungarians during their struggle for liberty, and it was even proposed in the senate to withdraw the American minister from Austria; but opposition quashed the resolution introduced for that purpose. The measure was considered prejudicial to the American citizens residing in Austria.

A large number of Mormons, who had suffered from persecution in the state of Illinois, emigrated to the western wilderness to seek a home. After a great deal of wandering from place to place, they established themselves near the Great Salt Lake, in a beautiful and fertile valley. Here, far from the abodes of civilized man, these religious enthusiasts founded a city, which, by the increase of emigration, soon became very large and prosperous. In the early part of 1850, a constitution was adopted by the inhabitants of the Great Salt Lake city,

and its neighbourhood, and a state government was put in operation. The name of the new state was Deseret. Application for admission into the Union will, doubtless, soon be made. But here, again, will the slave question intrude itself, as the constitution prohibits the existence of slavery. At this rate, the whole western wilderness will soon be included within state boundaries, and the prairies no longer offer a hunting-ground for the Indian, or a range for the buffaloes and wild horses, but teem with an enterprising and industrious people. In every view, the destiny of the United States is a theme for the speculation of the most profound and contemplative minds. At all events, it is evident, that should the Union prove lasting, and the power, wealth, and prosperity increase at the same rapid rate as it has done up to the present time, the United States must become one of the greatest empires the world has seen.

The congressional session of 1849-50 has been an unusually long and interesting one. The struggle between the ultras upon both sides of the slavery question has been untiring and violent in the extreme. It is a good occasion to form a judgment in regard to the possibility of harmonizing the widely different interests of the various sections of this great country. If accomplished now, it seems to be conclusive proof that compromise may effect it on all occasions. The various measures included in one bill by the committee of thirteen senators, will mostly pass both houses in a separate state. The one involving the most important consequences was the settlement of the Texas boundary question. The Texans claim that New Mexico is included within the limits of their state; which claim the

people of New Mexico have seemed disposed to resist. The governor of Texas, in his message to the state legislature, asserted the clear and unquestionable title of Texas to the territory, and announced his intention to maintain it by force, if necessary. The president of the United States, in a message to congress upon the subject, expressed his determination to maintain the rights of the people of New Mexico as they existed at the time of the treaty between the United States and Mexico, until the boundary question was settled by the proper tribunal—the supreme court. Troops were ordered to be raised in various parts of Texas by the governor, and to be ready for marching to Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico, by the 1st of September. In such a state of affairs, it was proposed to give Texas ten millions of dollars, on condition of her relinquishing her claim to New Mexico. The bill for that purpose passed the senate of the United States, and was sent to the house of representatives, whose sanction it also received. The bill will secure peace, but as to its justice there are two opinions. While this work is going through the press, the census of 1850 is being taken by the marshals appointed for that purpose. It will doubtless show an increase of population and industrial wealth, since 1840, unparalleled in the progress of nations. From what is already known, we may conclude that there are two cities with a population of above three hundred thousand persons—New York and Philadelphia; four with a population of above one hundred thousand—New Orleans, Baltimore, Boston, and Cincinnati; besides St. Louis, Louisville, Pittsburg, Brooklyn, and Buffalo, each with a population of more than fifty thousand persons. What

stronger evidences of prosperity and growing greatness will be demanded? The industrial statistics ordered to be collected will show an equal progress in those arts which contribute to a nation's advancement.

The impulse which all branches of industry received by the discovery of the almost inexhaustible metallic wealth of California, and the vast influx of emigration to that territory, render that portion of the United States especially interesting. The full resources and commercial importance of that territory cannot be estimated at present. Its influence upon Oregon is very apparent. The fertile valleys of the latter territory, and its numerous fine harbours attract the emigrant and the far-sighted speculator as strongly as the gold of California. The whole commerce of the Pacific will centre in the sea coast towns of these two promising regions.

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